THE POSTDIVORCE ADJUSTMENT CYCLE

BY

KEVIN REID

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Kevin Reid

DEDICATED TO

Eugene Frank and Mary Alice Monti

and their

Extended Family

Barbara Jean	Sharon	Thelma
Danny	Rachelle	Joe
Kevin		Vickie
Eugenie		Van

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THE POSTDIVORCE ADJUSTMENT CYCLE

By

Kevin Reid

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This survey is a modified replication of William J. Goode's After Divorce (1956). Our research population was English-speaking mothers, divorced and living in a large southern metropolitan area. Drawing from courthouse records, we used a stratified sample (N=203) of those divorced 2, 6, 12, and 24 months, to trace the divorce trauma during the two years after divorce. Questionnaires were mailed to the subjects who had been traced by phone, and who had consented to participate. Both descriptive and inferential statistics were used in analyzing the data.

The respondents' age range was 22-62 years. Three-quarters of them had been divorced once, and most of the

rest had been divorced twice. The marriages had lasted from 1-40 years. By the time of the survey, 13.30 per cent had remarried, and 16.73 per cent were cohabiting with men. These two proportions together equalled the remarrieds in Goode's study. Divorce brought sharp reductions in the respondents' financial resources. This was reversed by remarriage but not by cohabitation.

The data on causes of divorce indicated that the interpersonal relationship between husband and wife was the most serious problem, followed by problems associated with monogamy, economics, and wife's career. Profoundest trauma occurred at the initial stage where the parties were seriously considering divorce. Serious trauma continued through the divorce decree. By two months after the decree, significant adjustment had occurred, and this level continued through six months after the divorce. By one year after divorce another, more significant, adjustment had been attained. No further adjustment was evident at the two-year point. The majority of the respondents experienced moderate trauma, a minority, little or none, and a smaller minority, profound trauma. Overall, it seems that trauma has abated since the end of World War II, when Goode collected his data.

The respondents were predominantly Protestants, Catholics and Jews, with the remainder belonging to "other" churches, or to none at all. The least trauma was experienced by Jews

and "others," while the greatest trauma was suffered by those with the following combination of characteristics. (1) Prior to the divorces, their husbands fell in love with other women. (2) They received child support every month. (3) They received relatively large amounts in child support.

CHAPTER I
STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND INTRODUCTION

The Research Problem

This survey is a study of the divorce adjustment cycle as it was experienced by a sample of divorced mothers. Partners involved in divorce are faced with the termination of their marriages and the need to build a new way of life. Consequently, the divorce process involves a twofold problem necessitating two distinct adjustments which overlap to varying degrees (Spanier and Casto, 1979a:213). The two adjustments, both of which are quite complex, are as follows.

1. Adjustment to the dissolution of the marriage. This adjustment contains legal, social and emotional dimensions. The legal dimension involves dealing with the legal process and personnel, making property and support settlements and determining child custody. The social dimension necessitates informing and coping with individuals in one's social network, such as family, friends and business and other acquaintances. The emotional dimension includes feelings about the former spouse, such as love, hate, ambivalence, regret and guilt; feelings about marriage, such as regret, failure and bitterness; and feelings about

oneself, such as failure, depression, lowered self-esteem and self-confidence, and guilt.

2. Adjustment to a new life style. This adjustment arises out of the need to build a new life. This can involve finding a new home, living on less money (typically), managing a budget, getting a job or applying for welfare. One has to come to grips with single parenthood or limited visits with the children, depending on who gets custody. New friends have to be found and new relationships established. New feelings such as fear, loneliness, frustration and inadequacy must be adjusted to, as well as possible positive feelings of freedom, happiness and increased self-esteem.

The Postdivorce Adjustment Cycle

The divorce adjustment cycle, which is comprised of the very complex twofold adjustment outlined above, is the research topic of this study. Specifically, this complex process of adjustment whereby partners in divorce disengage from one lifestyle and build a new one will be examined and traced as it has been experienced by mothers who have been divorced 2 to 24 months. This enables us to focus directly on the postdivorce adjustment cycle during the two critical years following divorce.

Goode's Study

William J. Goode conducted the first such study in the late 1940s in Detroit to investigate the problems encountered by mothers in the divorce process. He published his findings in 1956 in a volume titled After Divorce. Goode's study, besides being a major work which has stood the test of time, was also a very timely one, having been conducted during the peak of the high postwar divorce rate.

Replication and Updating

This present study attempts to be a modified replication of Goode's After Divorce (1956). It is appropriate that another such study be made now in view of the steadily escalating divorce rate of the past two decades.

During the past quarter century since Goode published his study, many social changes and movements have developed in our society, not least among them being the increased incidence of divorce, the women's liberation movement, the increased participation of women in the workforce, the phenomenon of living together and no-fault divorce legislation. This study is a partial replication of Goode's study with modifications in response to the social situation of today. Our findings will be compared in detail with Goode's.

Overview of Marriage and Divorce in America

Ever since the arrival of the first white settlers on the shores of North America the institution of marriage and the family has endured and evolved through a multitude of changes and vicissitudes in the new world. This statement in no way implies that this institution was non-existent among the American natives who preceded--and survived--the arrival of the settlers. Indeed, in view of the universality of the family, there is no doubt that it was already a pervasive institution. Lack of knowledge is the reason why it is impossible to comment on the forms it took among the American Indians.

Much has been written on marriage and family life among the settlers, the colonists, the revolutionists and royalists, and the hordes of immigrants of the nineteenth century (Demos, 1970; Greven, 1970; Lockridge, 1966; Norton, 1971; Hersberg, 1971). The changes accompanying and following the industrial revolution have received special attention in the literature; and in the present century two world wars and the great depression, along with the urbanization of our population, and the explosion of technology, have not left marriage and family life unaffected (Calhoun, 1945; Furstenberg, 1966; Chafe, 1972; Gordon, 1973). One special area of family life, the black family, has become an arena for scholarly debate (Frazier, 1939; Fogel and Engerman, 1974; Genovese, 1974).

The Happy Family Myth

Not all that has been written is accurate and objective. It is now recognized, for instance, that there has been a strong tendency to idealize the colonial family (Lantz et al., 1968; Lantz et al., 1973; Seward, 1973). The image of that family as the locus of deep and enduring happiness for all its members (and there were always many members!), uncomplicated by stress from within, or assaults and magnetic attractions from without, has been labeled by William J Goode as "the classical family of Western nostalgia" (Goode, 1956:3).

James A Michener, in his historical novel, Chesapeake (1978), deftly portrays the fragility and vulnerability of marriage throughout our entire history as he reviews the conflicts, horror and violence as well as the heroism and achievement that accompanied the building of our nation. From the outset there was disruption of marriages by death from starvation and disease; then came marauding attacks from outraged, dispossessed Indians. There were brawls and lynchings; desertions resulting from poverty--and opulence. There were new frontiers to be conquered where males far outnumbered females, which caused many social problems. There were divergent and conflicting expectations, values, and norms among the members of a very pluralistic society in which change and instability were pervasive. These and many other factors militated against the stability of marriage and family living and caused much heartbreak and trauma.

Divorce in Colonial America

The Puritans who dominated in Massachusetts were Calvinists and held that marriage was a civil contract which could be dissolved by secular authorities, for reasons of adultery, desertion or cruelty (Cott, 1976:589). Any one of these reasons sufficed for men to get a divorce. Women were not entitled to divorce on grounds of adultery alone; only if it was accompanied by desertion or failure to provide was the husband's adultery grounds for divorce.

Cott states that while divorce records from the seventeenth century are "probably incomplete," there is evidence that even by then civil authorities had already granted some divorces. Calhoun (1945) found records of 25 divorces granted in Massachusetts between 1639 and 1682. Through almost the entire eighteenth century (1692-1786), only 122 wives and 101 husbands filed 229 divorce petitions in Massachusetts (six wives petitioned twice) (Cott, 1976:593).

The southern and middle colonies were stricter in their attitudes towards divorce. There the Church of England held sway and it did not recognize absolute divorce; it permitted only separation from bed and board for adultery and cruelty. But even separations were not granted in the southern colonies because no church courts were ever established to grant them.

However, desertions did occur, as the following indicates. Lantz examined eighteenth century colonial newspapers for advertisements "renouncing debts or announcing desertion on the part of a husband or wife" (Lantz, 1976:12). He found a relatively high incidence of such advertisements during the preindustrial era. Furthermore, he reported that "in all states throughout the entire century it was the husband in more than 95 per cent of the cases who was responsible for placing the ad, not the wife. . . . It was the husband who stated that his wife left him. . . . This picture of female discontent is certainly at variance with the usual picture of early American women" (Lantz, 1976:16).

Since desertions took place as a practical recourse, stringent divorce laws may, historically, have been as ineffectual in assuring marital stability as Rheinstein (1971) claimed they have been in modern times. This is not to suggest that marital instability was as common back then as it is today. Women, in general, lacked the alternative economic resources that would permit them to obtain rewards outside of marriage.

Divorce in the Early Years of Our Nation

The last quarter of the eighteenth century saw women successfully petitioning for divorce on grounds of adultery. Indeed, more women than men began to petition for divorce on all grounds (Scanzoni, 1979:25).

Cott (1976:606) argues that the new willingness of male officials to respond to women's grievances was not out of repugnance for the sexual double standard, but was politically motivated. Leaders of the infant republic felt that the "sexual vices" of the English had led to their general "corruption" and that America must avoid that fate by insisting on the letter of Puritan morality, that is sexual fidelity by both partners.

Increase in Number and Rate of Divorce

Statistics on the incidence of divorce in the United States began to be available around 1860, close to a hundred years after the birth of the nation. The trend reflected in these figures shows a steady increase throughout the past century, with some fluctuations: sharp peaks following war years, and valleys during economic depressions.

The peaks in the divorce rate following war result in part from the high number of wartime marriages that are hurriedly contracted after only short acquaintance. Under ordinary circumstances marriages between spouses who do not know each other well are a poor bet. During wartime, this is made worse by enforced lengthy separation, which can adversely affect even the best of marriages. Besides, many lonely spouses are thrown together with persons of the opposite sex under conditions favorable to extramarital involvement. Finally, the strains of postwar reunions are often great and partners may fail to readjust.

The valleys or dips in the divorce rate during depressions are easily explained in economic terms. Securing a divorce costs money, and many cannot afford it during a depression. Further costs are involved in establishing separate households, division of properties, and making provision for the children. This financial hardship prevents many from splitting up, but this is only temporary. Divorce rates rise rapidly after depressions.

The increase in both the number and rate of divorces is indicated by the following statistics. In 1860 there were fewer than 8,000 divorces in all of the United States. By 1900 there were 55,000 and in 1974 there were over 950,000 divorces. Part of the increase in numbers results simply from the growth in population, but part also comes from a climbing divorce rate as the following figures indicate.

In 1867 the rate was 0.3 divorces per 1,000 population. By 1920 it had grown to 1.6; in 1946 it ballooned to 4.3 during the postwar peak. After a decline during the fifties, it began to rise again in the sixties, and by 1974 the rate stood at 4.4, breaking the postwar peak. Since then, it has inched up steadily: in 1975 it jumped to 4.7; in 1977 it reached 5.0 and in 1978 it edged up to 5.2 (National Center for Health Statistics, 1979). In 1979 it increased to 5.4, and in 1980 it subsided to 5.3 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1981).

Today, divorce in our society is a pervasive social phenomenon, having steadily increased, as indicated, in numbers and proportion over the past twenty years. In 1956 it was estimated that "the experience of divorce is likely to occur to one-fifth to one-sixth of the men and women in this country who live out the average life span" (Goode, 1956: 11). In 1975, that estimate, based on up-to-date data, was placed at one-third (England and Kunz, 1975; Glick, 1975). In 1977, the chance of a first marriage ending in divorce was almost two in five, or 38 per cent, a rate seven times greater than that of 1900, and twice that of 1958 (Population Reference Bureau, 1977b).

Divorce is now so widespread in our society it appears that many divorced persons no longer tend to revert to the status and behavior of the unmarried, but are drawn together into a semi-separate social order, and within it have created the pattern of sexual behavior that meets their special needs. Hunt and Hunt (1979:134), drawing from a very large availability sample (N=984), state that, age for age, the separated and divorced represented in their study are now at least as sexually active as married people, whereas in Kinsey's time divorced people were distinctly less active.

Distribution of Divorce in America

Region, religion, race, ethnicity, economic status and age at marriage are among the chief variables influencing the distribution of divorce in the United States.

Region

Divorce rates vary by region: They are lowest in the northeast, followed by the northcentral region, then by the south, and finally, by the west. Growing up on a farm is associated with greater stability, while couples residing in large cities are more divorce prone.

Ethnicity and Religion

Ethnic and religious composition of the population are undoubtedly factors in the regional variation. Instability is higher among Protestants than among Catholics, and Catholics are over-represented in northern and eastern sections of the country (Glick, 1963). The lowest separation rates are found among Jewish women and the highest among Episcopalians (Ross and Sawhill, 1975), and the divorce rate is lowest among Irish Catholics (Mindel and Habenstein, 1977).

Even more important than religious affiliation is degree of religious commitment. People who attend church regularly maintain more stability in marriage than those who do not (Levinger, 1966; Goode,1968; Bumpass and Sweet, 1972).

These facts suggest that community norms vary systematically with residential environment, and that social and religious restraints are important in determining who divorces and who does not.

Race

The data on divorce rates by race are surprisingly inadequate. Very fragmentary data on divorce for the period 1939 through 1950 suggest that divorce rates may have been higher among whites than among blacks until 1942, when the relationship appears to have been reversed, and the black rates came to average 20 per cent higher than those of whites (Leslie, 1982:557). A sample survey of 22,000 households by the Bureau of the Census, 1957, confirmed that greater percentages of blacks than whites had experienced divorce. Some 19.8 per cent of nonwhite males and 19.9 per cent of females reported that they had experienced a divorce. The corresponding percentages among whites were 14.1 and 16.7. For 1970 it has been estimated that the nonwhite divorce rate was about one and a half times higher than the white rate (Ross and Sawhill, 1975:70).

Economic Status

At least five major studies have documented that there is generally a negative correlation between socioeconomic status and divorce rates, regardless of the criterion of

socioeconomic status used (Schroeder, 1939; Kephart, 1955; Monahan, 1953; Goode, 1956; Hillman, 1962). Ross and Sawhill (1975) through very careful multivariate analysis in a longitudinal panel study tried to identify which aspect of socioeconomic status is most important. Is it successful role performance of the husband relative to social expectation? or is it the constraint imposed by the accumulation of assets? Or is it a "pure" income effect, whereby the strains associated with having insufficient funds break up the marriages?

Using history of unemployment as an indicator of a husband's inability to provide for his family, they found this to be more important than anything else. Separation rates are twice as high among families where the husbands experienced serious unemployment over the past three years. They found that it is the husband's performance as a breadwinner, relative to expectations in his own social group, that is relevant, rather than absolute level of income. Surprisingly, being highly successful is just as destabilizing as being highly unsuccessful. This suggests that the stability of income may be more important than level of income in explaining marital stability. They found no "pure" income effect.

Finally, the greater the family's assets, the less likely it is that a separation will occur. Perhaps these assets increase the cost of dissolving a marriage, or possibly

couples who inherit or accumulate wealth are more averse to taking risks; or perhaps assets act as a buffer offsetting temporary declines in income.

Another finding that supports the fact that there is no "pure" income effect comes from the increase of females in the workforce--many of them married. Marriages with income from the wife's work are less stable, and other things held constant (including husband's income), a one thousand dollar increase in the wife's earning is associated with a one percentage point increase in separation rates. When wives are less financially dependent on their husbands, the economic benefits of marriage and the cost of separation are lower for them.

Age at Marriage

Age at marriage is especially critical. A marked decline is found in the proportion of marriages ending in divorce or separation as the age at first marriage increases. In general, those who marry while they are still in their teens are three or four times as likely to divorce as those who marry in their mid-twenties (Ross and Sawhill, 1975:40). Those who marry young or because of premarital pregnancy may reduce the time spent searching for appropriate, like-minded mates, and may also marry at a time when their values and expectations are still undergoing rapid changes, thus increasing the risk that these values will later diverge

(Levinger, 1966; Hicks and Platt, 1970; Bumpass and Sweet, 1972). Further, those who marry young typically have less education and more limited occupational opportunities--variables strongly associated with marital disruption.

Somewhat paradoxically, although marital satisfaction tends to decline with increasing duration, so too separation rates decline. On the average, an additional ten years of marriage reduces the separation rate by three percentage points. This may be due to the increased investment in the marriage, the decreased supply of alternative partners, the shorter time left to enjoy other lifestyles, the inertia of aging, or various other reasons.

Summary

Prior to the industrial revolution in the United States and the birth of our nation, divorce was not unknown, but rare. However, there is evidence that some wives deserted, as did some husbands also. This indicates that marital stability was not universal prior to the legitimation of divorce throughout our land. Indeed, also, we may guess that there was much unhappiness in marriage, painfully endured because of no escape.

Divorce has become widespread and more accepted, socially, over the past 25-30 years. However, in spite of this, divorce continues to be a painful experience for most parties involved, necessitating difficult and complex readjustment.

CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

The first part of this chapter, the review of the literature of divorce is divided into five segments as follows:

1. Divorce at the beginning of the twentieth century. This will be historical rather than substantive in nature, indicating the role played by social scientists in allaying public alarm over widespread divorce.

2. A brief report on the first study made on divorce and on the two distinctive, yet parallel types of studies that grew out of it.

3. An assessment of the social demographic studies on divorce.

4. An outline of key findings of several surveys. These surveys isolated various variables relevant to marital adjustment and stability. Among these variables are in-laws, kin and homogamy.

5. A detailed outline of Waller's epochal study (1930) and its successor, Goode's After Divorce (1956), followed by similar outlines of recent studies on divorce and its consequences for the partners involved.

The later parts of this chapter will deal expressly with the trauma experienced by divorced mothers, the difficulties arising from the legal process of divorce, and the postdivorce adjustment cycle. The chapter concludes with a brief outline of the theoretical framework and hypotheses for this study.

Divorce at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century

It was during the last two decades of the nineteenth century that the divorce rate began to increase rapidly. In 1880 there was one divorce for every 21 marriages; in 1900 there was one divorce for every 12 marriages, and in 1909, one divorce for every nine marriages. This dramatic increase at the end of the century stimulated widespread and strong public alarm (O'Neill, 1973:252). Resultant efforts to arrest the spread of divorce by legal means took two forms: (1) state campaigns to amend local laws, and (2) repeated attempts to achieve uniform marriage and divorce laws either through a constitutional amendment or through the voluntary enactment of uniform codes by all the states (Blake, 1962).

These efforts reached their peak in 1906 when President Theodore Roosevelt was persuaded to request a new census study of marriage and divorce, and the interest aroused by this led Governor Pennypacker of Pennsylvania to call a national conference to draft model uniform legislation on

these subjects. The congress met twice, once in Washington to appoint committees, and again in Philadelphia to ratify the proposed statutes. Despite the widespread approval which met these efforts, few states adopted their model statutes.

The twentieth century literature on divorce is both voluminous and varied. A study by Fred Plog and Paul Bohannan (1967) (NIMH Grant No. MH06551) of articles indexed under "Divorce" and "Alimony" in The Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature 1900-1965, reported that the highest number of articles on these two subjects was published in 1905, and that there has been a general decline in number since then. Notable has been the steep decline of articles dealing with religious attitudes toward divorce, and the increase in articles dealing with postdivorce problems and children of divorce (Bernard, 1968:301).

"In the earliest years of our society . . . divorces were generally abhorred by the people, and couples who sought them were considered to be morally defective" (Sirjamaki, 1353:164), and this is reflected in the literature at the beginning of this century which focused primarily on religious attitudes towards divorce. These religious attitudes were at once both negative and strong. The Bible's stricter teachings on divorce were quoted and requoted as the unassailable foundation of opposition to divorce.

Although divorce had political, psychological, and other dimensions, the increase of divorce was usually seen as a moral and social problem. The opponents of divorce invariably regarded it as both immoral and antisocial. The attack hinged on the common belief that divorce destroyed the family, the foundation of society and civilization. Felix Adler (1915:15) went one step further when he insisted that divorce menaced "the physical and spiritual existence of the human race." Blame for the divorce situation was placed on the rising tide of individualism menacing all progressive societies, while Adler as early as 1890 was tracing the whole ugly business back to Rousseau's "false democratic ideals."

Although most leading sociologists believed in divorce, Charles A. Ellwood did not, and this future president of the American Sociological Society also attributed divorce to excessive individualism (Ellwood, 1913). William Graham Sumner, renowned sociologist, and destined also to become president like Ellwood, also opposed divorce, on grounds that it was radically changing the family.

Apart from these two exceptions, social scientists performed a crucial service in coping with the public's fear of the social consequences of divorce. The first man of stature to defend divorce was Carroll W. Wright, U.S. Commissioner of Labor Statistics and a self trained social scientist, who, at the National Unitarian Convention in 1891

publicly declared himself for liberal divorce laws. A few years later he wrote:

> The pressure for divorce finds its impetus outside of laws, outside of our institutions, outside of our theology; it springs from the rebellion of the human heart against that slavery which binds in the cruelest bonds human beings who have by their haste, their want of wisdom or the intervention of friends, missed the divine purpose as well as the civil purpose of marriage. (Wright, 1900:176)

But it was not until 1904 that a leading professionally trained social scientist joined the fight. George E. Howard, an eminent historian and sociologist in his massive A History of Matrimonial Institutions (1904), and in subsequent writings, tried to show how the divorce rate was the product of forces which were dramatically improving American society, namely, industrialism and urbanization.

Within a few years, Wright and Howard were joined by an army of social scientists, including most of the leading men in the field. By 1908, when the American Sociological Society devoted its third annual meeting to the family, the majority of the sociological opinion was solidly on the side of divorce. The high point of the meeting was Howard's address which he titled: "Is the Freer Granting of Divorce an Evil?" He was attacked by Samuel Dike and Walter George Smith, a prominent Catholic lawyer who advocated stricter divorce laws. But they lost out. Theirs was the faintly anachronistic rhetoric of a discredited tradition of social criticism. On Howard's side were E.A. Ross, Elsie Clews Parsons and James Lichtenberger, as well as other leading

scientists. As a profession then, sociology was committed to a positive view of divorce at a time when virtually all other organized groups in the country were opposed to it.

The First Divorce Study and its Dual Type of Successors

The first major study of divorce in the United States was that by James P. Lichtenberger (1909). In this work he traced the rise in the divorce rate from 1867 through 1906. His study treated divorce as a growing social problem in our society. He examined divorce in primitive society and indicated its modification in recent history. He saw as especially important the transformation of society through "our unprecedented economic development, our unparalled achievements in social progress, and our remarkable transition in ethical and religious views" (Lichtenberger, 1909:19). Lichtenberger and the sociologists who followed him concentrated on divorce as a social problem and paid little or no attention to the aftermath of divorce.

Viewing divorce as a social problem, sociologists searched eagerly to identify the sources or causes of the problem. In general, two approaches have been used in research on the causes of divorce: the psychological and the sociological approaches. Edmund Bergler (1948) in Divorce Won't Help represented the most extreme form of the psychological approach. He insisted that some people are incapable of sustaining a marital relationship. Divorce and

remarriage mean only replaying the same mistakes over again. The basic flaw which brought about the divorce could be remedied only by psychoanalysis. The alleged basic flaw could range from moderate neurosis to a full-blown psychosis. So all who were divorced were classified as neurotics or psychotics.

Lewis Terman and Paul Wallin (1949) developed a similar school of thought when they introduced the concept of marital aptitude. Some people, they asserted, are quite normal in most aspects, but they lack the interests and aptitude for domesticity. An instrument for measuring marital aptitude was developed and used. Among the subjects studied, those who rated low on marital aptitude had a higher divorce rate than those who rated high.

Both Bergler and Terman looked to the individual for causes, and found them. By contrast, sociologists following the cue from Burgess and Cottrell looked for causes in the relationship itself in what has been called the "team factor" (Bernard, 1968:13). Homogamy and heterogamy were among the variables they emphasized.

The two approaches, although quite different, were not mutually exclusive. Bergler, besides looking at the individual, looked also at the relationship, but he insisted that it was impossible for one partner to be normal, because neurotics had an unerring instinct to seek and find as mates the neurotics they needed for their own neuroses. Burgess

and Cottrell also looked at the individuals, but from the perspective of socialization and background variables. Researchers from both schools were looking for factors which made some people "divorce-prone"; they just looked for different things.

Both schools found evidence to support their assertions. Records showed (and still do) that among the divorced mortality, morbidity, mental illness and suicide rates were higher than for the widowed and married. Further evidence of lack of marital aptitude was found in unsuccessful remarriages, which seemed to support Bergler's dictum directly. This kind of research was far from comforting for the divorced. It increased their sense of personal inadequacy and failure, and added to the trauma.

The evidence used by Bergler and Terman is now recognized as flawed. First, it was based on persons currently in the status of divorce excluding all who were remarried. Second, in reporting the failures among the remarried, it did not report the successes among them. Most divorced persons remarry and consequently are not represented in the population currently in the divorced status. And although the divorce rate for remarriages is higher than for first marriages a majority of remarriages are successful (Bernard, 1956: 108-113). This effectively undercuts the position held by the psychological school.

By contrast, the explanations given by the sociological school of thought carried no personal stigma. The marriage failed because the team was wrong--the partners were teamed up badly. Given congenial or suitable partners they would be able to sustain a stable marriage. This stance of the sociological school of thought has been helpful in reassuring those going through the pain of divorce. Besides, it has aided in improving the attitude towards divorce of society in general thus making the divorced more easily accepted by society, and the phenomenon of divorce itself better understood.

Social Demographic Studies

For the family sociologist, the foundation of divorce research has been the social demographic study. The primary thrust of these studies has been the examination of such variables as length of marriage, age at marriage, education, occupation, residence, religion and race of spouses as factors relating to the occurrence of divorce. Typical of post WWII studies of this nature are those by Jacobson (1950), Ackerman (1963), Bernard (1966), and Bumpass and Sweet (1972). The findings have been remarkably consistent and have succeeded in isolating significant variables of importance, some of which have been outlined in Chapter I, and others that are to be presented in the next section. Their usefulness was considerably enhanced by the Bumpass

and Sweet research which made use of multivariate analyses to shed light on the relative importance of these variables (Tropf, 1980:2).

Key Findings of Several Surveys

In-Laws

Studies have found that relationships between young couples and their parents on both sides are a source of strain. A brief summary of pertinent findings follows.

Judson T. Landis (1947) studying 409 happily married couples, found that 10 per cent of them had unsatisfactory in-law relationships even after 20 years of marriage. John L. Thomas (1956) studying 7000 broken Roman Catholic marriages, found that trouble with in-laws was the most frequent cause of breakup during the first year of marriage. Evelyn Duvall (1954) studied a national random sample of 5020 people who were married from between a few weeks to more than 40 years. She found that 75 per cent of her respondents reported one or more in-law problems. Blood and Wolfe (1960) in a study of 909 Michigan families reported a negative correlation between frequency of reported in-law trouble and duration of marriage. Fifteen per cent reported in-law trouble during the honeymoon, and the percentage decreased steadily thereafter.

It would seem that in-law adjustment is a rather important part of total marital adjustment. Landis (1946)

in his study of 409 couples married for approximately 20 years, found that couples who reported no trouble with in-laws from the beginning were more likely to report having very happy marriages: 52 per cent characterized their marriages as "very happy," and 34 per cent claimed they had "happy" marriages. Landis and Landis (1968) in a study of 544 couples in the early years of marriage found that 67 per cent of those who reported excellent adjustment to in-laws, also reported their marriages to be excellent. Only 18 per cent of those with in-law trouble reported having very happy mariages.

Research indicates that in-law troubles occur mostly between wives and their mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law. Duvall (1954) found that over one-third of 1337 respondents said that the mother-in-law relationship was the most difficult. Ninety per cent of these complaints came from wives. So it is the husband's mother, rather than the wife's mother who is the focus of the trouble. Landis and Landis (1968) had similar findings on mothers-in-law with the additional information that trouble with sisters-in-law was the next most frequent, and trouble with fathers-in-law was relatively rare. Similar results were found by Wallin (1954) and Thomas (1956).

Komarovsky (1964) in a study of 58 working-class marriages found, further, that husbands with less than a high school education have as much difficulty with their mothers-in-law as their wives do.

So, in summary, it has been found that wives report mother-in-law trouble most frequently and characterize it as the most serious in-law trouble. Next comes sister-in-law trouble, again reported by wives. Rarely do husbands report in-law trouble, outside those husbands with very little education. These husbands seem to have as much mother-in-law trouble as do their wives.

Visiting Kin

Studies by Axelrod (1956), Greer (1956), Bell and Boat (1957), Blumberg and Bell (1959), and Tomeh (1967) found that about 50 per cent of families see their relatives at least once a week, and that an additional 25 per cent of them see them about once a month. Blood (1969) in a study of 731 married women in Detroit tested for relationships between frequency of interaction with kin and marital adjustment. He found that interaction with kin up to once a week is associated with good adjustment, but more frequent interaction seems to be detrimental to marital adjustment.

Homogamy

Hundreds of studies have been done on homogamy. They embrace homogamy by age and marital status, social status, religion, ethnic affiliation, race and a host of other social and personal characteristics (Leslie, 1982: 400). The following presents briefly some of the relevant studies and their findings.

Homogamy by age and marital status. Most Americans marry young. Further, 75 per cent of all first marriages occur within three or four years on either side of 21 (Mogey, 1965). Homogamy in age at marriage can be seen in the facts that brides on the average are 2.5 years younger than their grooms and in 10 per cent of all cases they are the same age.

Homogamy by age holds in all groups that have been studied. Hollingshead (1951) compared the ages of black and white couples in first and remarriages. In all four types and within both races, the correlations were high. Glick and Landau (1950) verified age homogamy at the various levels ranging from laborers to professionals.

Further, age is related to whether people are marrying for the first time or remarrying (Bowerman, 1956). First, single persons as marriage partners are younger, on the average, than persons who have been married. Among the previously married, widows are older than divorcees. Secondly, as men get older they marry increasingly younger women. Finally, those who are remarrying do not differ significantly in the age difference from the mates who are marrying for the first time.

A number of early studies found age at marriage to be related to marital happiness, with marriages under 20 being the most likely to be unhappy (Terman, 1938; Burgess and Cottrell, 1939; Landis and Landis, 1968). The same patterns

were found between age and divorce rates. Young marriages are the least stable (Locke, 1951; Monahan, 1953; Landis and Landis, 1968; Bumpass and Sweet, 1972). The reason for these patterns lies in the fact that age is related to emotional and social maturity (Burchinal, 1959b; Eshelman, 1965); those who marry after age 20 are less likely to be rebelling against their parents, are less likely to be forced into marriage by pregnancy (Burchinal, 1959a; Bacon, 1974), are less likely to be broken up by in-laws, and encounter fewer financial difficulties than those who are younger.

Homogamy by Social Status. Early studies found mixed evidence of homogamy by social status. Burgess and Wallin (1943) found that 1000 engaged couples tended to choose partners from social backgrounds similar to their own. Centers (1949), using a national sample, found that men and women marry persons from their own occupational level more than from any other level; however less than 50 per cent do so. In Connecticut, Hollingshead (1951) found that men and women tend to marry individuals from the same class of residential area and from the same educational level. However, Hunt (1940) found scant evidence of status homogamy in marriages in Massachusetts. Leslie and Richardson (1956) studied students who married while at college. They found only a slight tendency towards homogamy among students who married an individual they had known at home prior to

college, and none at all among couples who met and married at college. Coombs (1962) had similar findings at the University of Utah.

These data suggest that status homogamy may be declining with the years, at least in some segments of the population. This is supported by data on 5442 women from the 1970 National Fertility Study. Using education as the measure of social status, Bumpass and Sweet (1972) found in this study that marital disruption rates did not differ significantly between homogamous and heterogamous marriages unless the differences in background were large. Disruption rates were highest for college females who had married high school drop-outs.

Homogamy by Race. The norms against interracial marriages have been the strongest, and it was not until the 1967 Supreme Court decision that miscegenation ceased to be unlawful. Perhaps less than one per cent of all marriages are interracial, but these draw much interest and attention. Studies by Burma (1952), Golden (1953), and Pavela (1964) found that couples in interracial marriages tend to be older, that they may have been married before, and that they have histories of rejection by parents and their own social group.

Interracial marriages are widely believed to be doomed to failure. Studies of war bride marriages (Strauss, 1954), and black-white marriages by Golden (1953), Pavela (1964)

and Smith (1966) did not bear this out however. Nevertheless, more recent national data on black-white marriages indicate that these are more likely to end in divorce than either homogamous black or homogamous white marriages. These data indicate that 90.00 per cent of the white marriages and 78.00 per cent of the black marriages that took place in the 1950s were still intact in 1970, compared with only 63.00 per cent of the black husband-white wife marriages, and 47.00 per cent of the white husband-black wife marriages (Carter and Glick, 1976:414-415).

Homogamy by religion. Studies of religious homogamy have shown wide variation in intermarriage rates. In New York City, Heiss (1960) found 18 per cent of Jews, 24 per cent of Catholics, and 34 per cent of Protestants to be intermarried. Burchinal and Chancellor (1962) found individual mixed-marriage rates in Iowa to range from 9 to 24 per cent. In general, the larger the proportion a religious group is of the community, the lower the intermarriage rate and vice versa. Intermarriage also varies inversely with the cohesion of the ethnic group.

Intermarriage rates rose in the 1960s and the 70s, partly due to Pope Paul VI permitting Catholics to get married by noncatholic ministers, and his dispensing with the promises the noncatholic traditionally signed, promising to bring up the children Catholic.

Studies show divorce rates to be lowest among Catholics and Jews, somewhat higher among Protestants, higher still in mixed marriages, and highest of all where there is no religious affiliation (Landis, 1949; Bumpass and Sweet, 1972). Burchinal and Chancellor (1963) produced one of the more definitive studies of divorce in interfaith marriages, in the state of Iowa, using data from a seven-year period. Controlling for age and social status, they partly confirmed the results of earlier studies, and partly called those findings into question. They confirmed that the divorce rate in homogamous Catholic marriages was lower than in marriages where Catholics were married to Protestants. However, the differences were considerably reduced. They concluded that the smaller differences did not justify generalizations of considerably greater difficulties awaiting Catholics who marry outside their faith, provided the person they married belonged to a Protestant denomination. Further, the researchers discovered that, while homogamous Catholic marriages had the highest survival rate, a number of other homogamous and mixed marriage types had survival rates nearly as high. Besides, the data indicated that the marital survival rates were influenced more by age at marriage and social status than by the fact of religious differences. Marital stability was consistently greater among marriages involving older brides, and higher SES couples.

Detailed Outlines of Studies of Divorce and Its Consequences

Willard Waller. The Old Love and the New (1930/1967)

This was a significant work when originally published and remains important to the present day. This is so, first of all, because Waller focused on the social-psychological consequences of divorce for the parties involved, and the implications these consequences might have. Secondly, his work was a break with the writings on the family that had preceded it, and that had been in vogue, "writings that still possessed historical and evolutionary preoccupations. By shifting the inquiry . . . Waller was ahead of his time and anticipated a major development in family sociology which is current today" (Lantz, 1967:v). Waller focused on divorce as an event in an individual's life history. He explored how the status of the divorcee was defined and what this status involved. He perceived that divorce meant change, and this in turn implied crisis, disorganization, and reorganization. He emphasized the persistance of the habits of married life, and the modifications demanded of the divorcee to build a new life.

Waller used the case study method. In using this method, Waller "felt that he would arrive at a better understanding of the divorcee by an intensive study of a few cases than by collecting facts about many" (Waller, 1967:316). Thirty-three cases were included. "Of these perhaps five were studied with a thoroughness approaching that of the study

which a psychoanalyst makes. . . . On ten more cases fairly complete subjective documents were obtained, and a reasonably good insight into the subjects' minds was . . . obtained. . . . In the remaining cases incomplete subjective accounts, or complete narratives were obtained. . . . In addition there were available a number of psychoanalytic cases in which divorce was one of the major problems. . . . A few more women than men were among those thoroughly studied" (Waller, 1967:317). Waller's findings will be discussed and compared later with those of Goode's (1956).

William J. Goode. After Divorce (1956)

> For twenty-six years after The Old Love and the New appeared no other research on postdivorce adjustment was reported. Following WWII, however, the divorce rate rose sharply, and experiences with personal problems following divorce became more common. Goode undertook a study of the adjustment of divorced women in Detroit. Goode reported that he "assigned two budding librarians to summarize all the research literature on postdivorce adjustment. . . . No such body of work existed, other than Willard Waller's The Old Love and the New." In many respects, Goode's research was based on Waller's. Since the Goode investigation in 1956, there has been a slow growth in the research literature on the aftermath of divorce. However, Goode's work remains as the successor to the Waller study. (Farber, 1967:XXI)

Method. In this study Goode investigated 425 divorced mothers in metropolitan Detroit, who were between the ages of 20 and 38 years at the time of their divorces. They were divided into four groups or cohorts by length of time divorced: those divorced 2, 8, 14 and 26 months. Data were

collected by interviewers who administered a lengthy questionnaire to each respondent. In addition to examining background and marital variables, he also probed the causes of divorce and the adjustment process.

Findings. Here we will confine ourselves to a comparison and discussion of Goode's findings which parallel those of Waller. In each case a summary of Waller's findings will be given first, followed by Goode's. Other findings of Goode's will be dealt with later.

1. Friends. Waller paid much attention to the role of friends in the postdivorce adjustment. Prior to divorce, he suggested, friends assist in redefining the marital situation as an intolerable one. Thus, they contribute to the final decision to end the marriage. After divorce, friends help relieve ambivalence over the divorce. Goode found that, in general, the husband's friends were indifferent towards the divorce, while the wife's friends generally approved. Hence, Waller's assertion was supported by the data on women but not on men.

Waller next said that the divorcee frequently breaks completely with the friends which he/she had during the marriage, giving two reasons for the break: (a) the divorcee is an oddity among married couples, (b) the divorcee must reorganize his/her sex life, and seeks the company of those in a similar marital condition. This breaking away from friends fosters feelings of alienation

and isolation, and so multiplies the problems of personal adjustment. Goode found partial support for this assertion. He found that regardless of religion, race, or age at divorce, about half of the divorced women retained their former friends. This tendency was strongest among the upper-class. However, when the divorcee was in love with another man prior to the divorce, she tended to drop her old friends. Further, he found that his respondents made new friends. Of those not remarried about one in six mentioned new friends, and almost one-third of all the women said they retained their old friends and made new ones.

2. Sex Adjustment. Waller perceived that in divorce, the "sex impulse is reduced to its crudest form . . . robbed of all glamor and romance and perhaps purposefully cheapened and degraded" (Waller, 1967:56). One way to cheapen sex is to become promiscuous. Goode did not question his respondents specifically about their sex problems, but he gave a sex interpretation to this question: "Have you ever been in a social situation in which you felt someone thought less of you when he or she found out that you were divorced?" Thirty per cent said "yes"; these respondents were mostly under 24 years of age. Goode interpreted this difference to indicate a greater risk of the younger women being regarded as "loose" although they actually were not.

3. Economic Adjustment. Waller contended that the female faces greater economic hardships than the male. He

saw the woman as needing money immediately without time or resources to invest in a long-term career, "and worried about how she is going to live." Goode found that those women who were unable to work full-time were experiencing financial difficulties. About half of his respondents who had not yet remarried were living on reduced incomes. Remarried women, however, were considerably better off financially than they had been in the former marriages. Consistent with Waller's view, Goode's findings suggest that for women, divorce involves downward mobility, but this can be reversed by remarriage.

4. Role of the Divorcee. Waller suggested that the divorcee who has been "cast away" by her spouse, first of all regards herself as a failure, and secondly, tries to reassert control over her former spouse. To Waller, divorce was not merely dropping a mate; it was a crisis, evoking profound changes in life organization. Goode found that the trauma of divorce was greatest among those women whose husbands took the initiative in divorce. Overall, he found that the divorcees most prone to trauma or crisis were those who did not want the divorce, those over 30 years of age, those who had been married 10 years or more, and those who felt ambivalent about divorce.

5. Remarriage. Waller speculated that remarriages could go either way. He believed that an unhappy marriage which ends in divorce may have disastrous personality effects,

preventing successful adjustment in remarriage. Further, lingering feelings for the former mate, coupled with fear of losing the present mate, would also be sources of problems in adjustment. On the other hand, he believed that the experience gained in the former marriage could produce insight, tolerance and "progressive liberation from . . . infantile love objects." Besides, when the first marriage represented a rebellion against a parent, or was "so bad that any comparison must inevitably favor the second," remarriage might entail fewer problems (Waller 1967:159).

Goode found that about 90 per cent of his remarried respondents regarded the remarriage as much better than the first marriage. This was possibly misleading. Many of these women may have been still in the honeymoon phase, or perhaps they felt they had to make good claims for their remarriage. We now know that while remarriages seem to be almost as satisfactory as first marriages, they are not as stable as first marriages. In 1978, the proportion of first marriages ending in divorce was 38 per cent, and for remarriages it was 44 per cent (Population Reference Bureau, 1978).

R.W. Weiss. Marital Separation (1975a).

This study is strictly qualitative in nature and focuses primarily on the emotional impact of marital separation. Weiss derived his data from his Seminars for the Separated

during the three years beginning in 1971. The seminars were established by the Harvard Laboratory of Community Psychiatry where recently divorced persons (both male and female) came for an educational program of eight evening meetings. The meetings were half instructional and half group discussion. It was mostly people with college educations who took part. About 150 recently separated individuals participated in the program.

Several participants said that even though their marriages had become unhappy, thoughts of ending them made them anxious, and even terrified. This may have resulted from the fact that their marriages afforded them security if not happiness.

Others reported that after the separation, occasionally they felt impelled by anxiety to reestablish contact with their former spouses. Most participants continued to feel drawn to the spouses even when a new satisfactory relationship had been established. The exceptions were mostly those who left their marriages for new relationships which they already had established.

The marital bond that keeps drawing ex-spouses back to each other seems unrelated to liking, admiration or respect. Even those who disparaged their spouses felt drawn to them. This bond may be likened to the imprinting that takes place in the animal world, and in its persistance resembles the attachment bond of children to their parents described by Bowlby (1969).

The loss of attachment can be seen as the primary cause of the "separation distress" syndrome described by Parkes (1972). It involves thinking more of the lost figure, and an urge to reestablish contact, as well as anger and guilt over the loss. Present also is an "alarm reaction" including hyperalertness, great restlessness and feelings of fear and panic. Difficulties in sleeping and loss of appetite ensue.

In contrast, some experienced euphoria and greater self-confidence and self-esteem. They may become more active and outgoing than they had been. However, typically this euphoria alternated with distress.

Separation distress which involves pining for the ex-spouse fades with time. If a new attachment has not been established at this point, the distress is replaced by loneliness which does not revolve around any lost figure, but feeds on a vaguely developed image of a satisfying relationship that would allay the loneliness. This loneliness often carries the feeling that there is nobody in the world who could provide that relationship, and frequently the lonely person feels an emptiness inside. Since loss of attachment causes pain, anger is a natural reaction, and this is directed against the former spouse regardless of which one initiated the separation.

Separating spouses may be angry with each other not only because they blame the other for their distresses, but also

because of genuine conflicts of interest over division of property, support payments, custody of children and visitation. Anger toward the ex-spouse can become intense and lead to murderous fantasies. Some feel their anger is justified, and may be willing to act to hurt the other. But others feel the anger as alien to their genuine selves, and try to disown it. Yet, even in the case of the most enraged, suppression of positive feelings rarely seems complete.

Because of the continued attachment and simultaneous anger, intense ambivalence sets in. Managing this ambivalence becomes a problem. Some suppress the positive feelings, others repress the negative feelings; and some manage by alternating the feelings they express, or by compartmentalizing their feelings.

Ambivalence makes separated individuals uncomfortable with any resolution of their separation. Reconciliation may result not only in relief at the ending of separation distress, but also in dismay at the return of an unsatisfactory relationship. The decision to proceed with divorce may also have mixed implications: gratification over a painful relationship being terminated, but also sorrow that the spouse will be irretrievably lost. This ambivalence probably is the reason why lawyers who specialize in divorce work sometimes complain that their clients do not seem to know their own minds (O'Gorman, 1963).

Spanier and Casto. Adjustment to Divorce (1979a)

The authors point out at the outset that, with few exceptions (e.g. Goode, 1956), the data dealing with the problems spouses have in adjusting to separation and divorce are drawn from clinical case studies, and research on persons who attend discussions and other counseling programs (e.g. Weiss, 1975a). In this study, four hypotheses were examined pertaining to (1) the effects of lingering attachment to the former spouse, (2) the degree of social interaction outside the home, (3) the role of dating relationships, and (4) the relative effects of sudden and unexpected separations.

Method. The research, conducted in the fall of 1976, consisted of lengthy, unstructured interviews with 50 individuals who had filed for divorce within the preceding two-year period. Their names were secured from the public records in Centre County, Pennsylvania. Contact by phone was established with 37 per cent of the persons whose names were drawn. Of those contacted, 61 per cent agreed to be interviewed, comprising 28 females and 22 males, all white, from the working, middle and upper-middle classes. The age range was 21 to 65 years, with a mean of 36 years. Thirty-two of the respondents were divorced at the time of the interview, and the remaining 18 were separated.

Findings. (1) Most respondents expressed resentment over their experiences with the legal system. (2) The children were the catalysts for some of the major adjustment problems. (3) Friends, relatives and acquaintances were generally supportive. (4) The degree of initial emotional upset was a function of how unexpected the separation was, and of the respondent being opposed to it. (5) Economic adjustment was the only area in which sex differences were found. The large majority of men reported they were at least as well off financially after the separation, but for the women, the opposite was true. (6) Respondents reported growing away from close friends, especially when these friends were shared by the other spouses. (7) There was a strong positive correlation between participation in heterosexual relationships and successful adjustment.

Conclusions. Creating a new life style appears to be more crucial to overall adjustment than successfully coping with the dissolution of the marriage. Painful reactions to marital dissolution, such as feelings of regret, attachment, and bitterness towards the spouse, actually may increase over time through failure to create new relationships. Some respondents who reported few problems immediately after separation and who, in some cases, reported that separation had made them feel free, excited, or eager about life for the first time in years, were at the time of the interview very despondent and showing signs of separation anxiety. In

every instance, these respondents were having major economic or social difficulties. The difficulties that individuals encounter may vary greatly, depending on the circumstances surrounding the dissolution of their marriages, the support they receive as they make the transition, and the nature of the postmarriage lifestyle. Children, parents, friends, former spouses, representatives of the legal system, and dating partners all play important roles in the lives of the recently separated.

Kohen et al. Divorced Mothers (1979)

Method. This study was conducted to uncover the costs and benefits of being a divorced mother. The research, conducted in 1974, consisted of lengthy open-ended interviews with 30 Boston-area mothers who had at least one child under 16 years of age living with them, and who had been divorced or separated from one to five years. Potential respondents were located through institutional sources, such as youth agencies and organizations for single parents. Quotas were imposed to assure that no group was over-represented in relation to the Boston-area population.

Findings. Even though respondents undergoing the crisis during the first year immediately following separation were eliminated, the findings in major areas such as changes in income, proportion wishing to remarry, and types of problems encountered, were consistent with those of Goode's (1956).

Identified problems. (1) The predivorce average income reported was $12,500. This fell to $6,100 after the divorce or separation. This resulted from (a) little or no support from the husband, and (b) job and sex discrimination. In 1974 women working full-time throughout the year earned only 57 per cent of that earned by their male counterparts (Sawhill,1975). (2) The divorced mother, while legally head of the house, is not socially legitimated for this role, with resulting intrusions and dificulties from and with authorities and others. (3) In family life, the responsibilities formerly shouldered by both parents now must be borne all alone. (4) They were conscious of the stigma of being "fair game" sexually.

The respondents reported the following advantages. (1) They were better off with their lower income, because they had full control of it. (2) Without a husband, the organization of life was often easier, and the expenditure of energy less. (3) Gaining control over "social time" is like gaining control over money: they have less, but they can decide how to spend it (Stein, 1976). (4) They reported improved self-concept resulting from successfully mastering decision-making and new tasks.

Kressel et al. Professional Intervention in Divorce (1979)

The goal of this study was to identify the primary obstacles to a constructive divorcing process and to shed light on the psychological and interpersonal experience of those who divorce. Of particular interest was the role of the professional in helping to produce a cooperative climate between the spouses, and to secure an acceptable divorce agreement. This review will be restricted to the latter--the role of the professional. The research consisted of lengthy, unstructured interviews with 59 professionals, including 21 psychotherapists, 21 clergy, and 17 lawyers. It was an exploratory study with no attempt at systematic sampling. Instead, highly expert practitioners were located through professional organizations, personal contacts, and referrals by previous respondents.

Findings. (1) There is much similarity in the roles assumed by psychotherapists and clergy in divorce. Mainly, they help with the diffucult decision of whether to divorce or not, and, less commonly, help negotiate the terms of the settlement. When people seek help with a marital problem, they are more likely to approach a clergyman than a psychotherapist (Gurin, Veroff, and Feld, 1960). The clergy's work occurs either as part of congregational responsibilities, or in connection with religious courts of divorce or annulment. (2) Lawyers are most frequently consulted by the divorcee because divorce is the end of one

legal contract and the beginning of another. (3) Although the lawyers' role in divorce is the most clearly structured, leading one to expect highest consensus among them, just the opposite was found. A high level of consensus was found among therapists and clergy, while lawyers commonly differed on important issues. (4) This difference among attorneys resulted from the stresses inherent in their work, and they used various mechanisms, such as the following, to cope with the stresses. (a) Act as Undertaker. This metaphor rests on two assumptions. First, the job is essentially thankless and messy, and second, the clients are in a state of emotional "derangement." The words of one respondent were characteristic: "I . . . represent psychotic people. All my clients are neurotic, some of them actually psychotic. If mine aren't, the other side is." (b) Act as Mechanic. This is a pragmatic, technically oriented stance. It assumes that clients are capable of knowing what they want. (c) Act as Mediator. This is oriented toward negotiating a compromise, with emphasis on cooperation among all parties. (d) Act as Social Worker. This stance centers around a concern for the clients' postdivorce adjustment and overall social welfare. (e) Act as Therapist. This involves active acceptance of the fact that the client is in a state of emotional turmoil. (f) Act as Moral Agent. Here, neutrality is rejected by the attorney, and he assumes that he should not hesitate to use

his sense of right and wrong. This is widely used when children are involved.

Four major goals are shared by all three professional groups. (1) Establish a working alliance. Here again the lawyers are different. They are likely to be partisans in the conflict, whereas therapists and clergy are likely to aspire to the role of mediator. (2) Diagnosis. The first and most important question here for all three groups is: Is this marriage truly headed for divorce? (3) Improve the emotional climate. Here all three groups appeal to self-interest, the children, and to the norms of fair-play. However, here the lawyers were narrower in their orientation than the others. (4) Decision-making and planning. First the decision must be made whether to divorce or not. If the decision is yes, then they endeavor to reach a fair settlement. According to the respondents, typically only one partner has definitively decided to divorce, and the other has not. Here the professionals must "orchestrate the motivation to divorce" (Kressel and Deutch, 1977:424), based on the fundamental assumption that a constructive divorce process is unlikely if both partners are not ready to end the marriage.

The clergy differed from the other two groups in this area of decision making and planning on three salient points. (a) An emphasis on the concrete and practical. The clergy emphasized the importance of providing immediate

monetary assistance when necessary, and of referring their clients to therapists and lawyers when indicated. (b) Accomplishing the religious divorce or annulment. Judaism and Roman Catholicism have highly formalized divorce and annulment procedures. For the rabbis and Catholic priests, involvement in such procedures is the most distinctive and difficult aspect of their role in divorce. (c) A hightened concern with postdivorce adjustment. The most organized efforts to cope with the postdivorce adjustment period were described by priests and lay respondents working in centers for divorced Catholics. In these centers, crisis intervention services, similar to the model established by Alcoholics Anonymous, were offered: a reference group of similar others, frequent social contacts, an accepting religious community, limited individual counseling, group activities for children, religious group rituals, and workshops on special problems (e.g. dating, sex and family relationships).

Conclusion. The lawyer-run adversary system is not working. Perhaps the most likely alternative is some form of mediation akin to that employed in labor-management disputes.

Divorce Source of Trauma

The widespread general belief that divorce tends to be a painful, crisis producing, traumatic experience for the partners is widely substantiated in the literature (Goode, 1949, 1956; Hetherington et al., 1976a, 1976b; Spanier and Casto, 1979a, 1979b; Weiss, 1975a; Hunt and Hunt, 1979). The earliest social analyst of this phenomenon was Willard Waller who, using the analytic approach on a small number of persons, identified the personal ill effects of divorce as shock, ambivalence to oneself and one's partner, and much frustration and unhappiness. Involved too, of course, is the disruption of established sexual patterns on both the physical and emotional levels (Waller, 1930/ 1967). His conclusion was that there are many aspects and stages of reorganization which the divorcee must go through at this crucial period. They are (1) reorganizing one's lovelife, (2) mending of wounded pride, (3) rechanneling of habits, (4) reorganizing of social relationships, (5) facing economic consequences, and (6) ending rebellion.

Generally divorce is a traumatic psychological, emotional, and social experience which adversely affects the individuals involved. Landis and Landis (1968) added that the divorce process involves pain and grief over the loss of one's spouse, especially when one does not want the divorce to take place. Burgess (1926) and Christensen (1950) stated that some find divorce to be a shattering

experience, while others do not find it to be so disturbing, and others find relief.

Haqerty found in his study on divorce at Brigham Young University that "many had felt strong trauma in the early divorce period. With some this feeling decreased . . . during the divorce process and then increased again during the postdivorce readjustment period" (Haqerty, 1961:49).

The most systematic field study to date was conducted by Goode (1956). He found that about 37 per cent of the respondents showed little increase in difficulties after divorce. However, in about two-thirds of the cases, there was definite evidence of a significant increase in personal difficulties.

Albrecht (1980) in a study conducted in eight Rocky Mountain states had similar findings among his 200 female respondents. Twenty-seven per cent characterized their divorce experience as traumatic or a nightmare, and an additional 40 per cent reported it as stressful. Only a mere 13 per cent described it as relatively painless. The following factors were identified as contributing to the trauma. (1) The legal process itself (see Spanier and Anderson, 1979). (2) The pain and anguish felt by the children. (3) Financial strain. (4) A feeling of personal failure. This last factor was the most widespread, having been mentioned by one-third of the respondents.

Most people regard marriage as a permanent commitment, and despite the prevalence of divorce, when marriage breaks up, this is seen by the partners as a personal failure, and this feeling seems to be a key factor in the trauma and stress felt by divorced persons.

Eliot (1948) expressed the view that since divorce is generally a traumatic experience for the individual involved, full recovery is unusual. This view regarding recovery is no longer tenable. Recent studies indicate that recovery from the trauma of separation and divorce seems to take from two to four years, with the average being closer to four than to two (Weiss, 1975a:236; Hunt and Hunt, 1979:58). Understandably, those who have had an ongoing extramarital relationship, or who developed a new relationship immediately after separation, suffer least trauma (Raschke, 1976; Hunt and Hunt, 1979).

Separation and divorce cause major changes in one's way of life, and all major changes cause stress (Holmes and Rahe, 1967; Selye, 1976). It is no coincidence that the separated and the divorced have higher rates of suicide, accidents, and physical illnesses than married people do (Glick, 1976a:16; Gove, 1973). Further, separated women and men are 8 and 12 times as likely, respectively, as married women and men to be hospitalized for mental illness.

These statistics along with those from many other sources (see Bloom et al., 1979) show that the link between marital

disruption and a great variety of illnesses and disorders is stronger for men than for women. However, the evidence was rather unsystematic until recent studies attempted to deal more systematically with the effects of marital disruption on both parents and children. Perhaps that partly accounts for the fact that most of the literature on the problems faced by the separated and divorced focuses on divorced women, rather than men.

Apparently the assumption was that marital disruption is more stressful for women than men. Further, in the overwhelming majority of cases, the divorcing mothers receive custody of the children, thereby being burdened with further responsibility, and, possibly increased stress. Another partial explanation may be found in the increased interest in the changing roles of women. Lastly, undoubtedly this emphasis on women results from the precedent set in Goode's study. Replication of his work is the prime reason why this present study focuses exclusively on the reports of divorced mothers.

For the mother who goes through a divorce, life is often turned upside down. Fondest dreams, hopes and ideals are shattered. Intimate bonds with another are broken, relationships with children are changed, friendship patterns are disrupted, new living arrangements must be made, employment must be found, often for the first time, and on and on. Separation and divorce cause significant

disruptions in four major spheres of the divorcee's life, namely the personal, sexual, social and economic.

Disruptions in Her Personal Life

The literature contains numerous reports indicating that the newly divorced are likely to suffer some amount of personal disorganization, anxiety, unhappiness, loneliness, low work efficiency, increased drinking, and other personal problems (Gurin, Veroff and Feld, 1960; Rose and Price-Bonham, 1973; Weiss, 1976a, 1976b). Goode found that the divorce was preceded by a long period of conflict and serious decision-making lasting an average of two years. The protracted conflict effectively destroyed the love relationship between the spouses, and replaced it with unhappiness, anxiety, and a sense of failure. His respondents reported serious causes for the conflict and eventual divorce, among which were the following: (1) 33 per cent complained of nonsupport, (2) 22 per cent, excessive dominance by the husband, (3) 30 per cent, drinking, (4) 29 per cent, personality problems, (5) 25 per cent, poor home life, (6) 16 per cent, involvement with other women. They were so affected by the long and painful experience that they suffered from poorer health, greater loneliness, difficulties with sleep, work and eating, and having fewer friends during the divorce process and for lengthy periods afterwards.

Bohannan (1970) by contrasting the engagement and wedding on the one hand, with divorce on the other, offers keen insight into the pain and rejection of divorce. One of the reasons it feels so good to be engaged and newly married is the rewarding sensation that, out of the whole world you have been selected. One of the reasons that divorce feels so awful is that you have been de-selected. It punishes almost as much as the engagement and wedding are rewarding.

Blanck and Blanck (1968) pointed out that since marriage is a primary relationship involving more facets of an individual's personality than perhaps any other adult relationship, its termination represents the loss of a great number of satisfactions.

If the divorcee is committed to her religion, probably the religious dimension of her personal life will be seriously disrupted. In many cases the wedding took place in church with a minister, rabbi or priest presiding, and "until death doth us part" was an integral part of the marriage vows. These vows reenforce the personal conviction that the marriage would bring happiness and fulfillment. Breaking these vows can be a source of stress for her. Further, she is likely to experience feelings of guilt and failure as she interacts with her friends at church because of her awareness that she has failed to uphold in her marriage the ideals of her church, regardless of what denomination she belongs to. Churches are strong proponents

of the sanctity and permanence of marriage, and in face of this, her guilt and failure feelings may lead to alienation from her church and her friends there. This is most likely if she is Catholic because of the following.

In general, Protestants and Jews tend to be tolerant and accepting of divorce. The latter emphasize that a hate-filled marriage has lost the sanctity of the Law, and divorce should be permitted in such a case. However, before divorce is assented to, the rabbi is obliged to use all means available through counseling and other aids to remedy the situation and save the marriage (Gordis, 1967). The Catholic Church is strongly opposed to divorce ante factum and strongly asserts this position in its laws, official documents and teachings. Besides, it makes widespread use of Pre-Cana and Cana conferences, Marriage Encounter, and other group sessions to reenforce its position and to promote marital fidelity and fulfillment. For these reasons the active Catholic who gets a divorce will probably experience a stronger sense of alienation from her church and its members than the non-Catholic divorcee. While it is true that the Catholic Church's attitude towards divorce post factum is one of tolerance and guarded sympathy, and that much can be done by the local priest for the reconciliation of the divorcee (Salter, 1969), it is quite likely that many such remain unreconciled with the church.

Disruptions in Her Sex Life

Sexual relations between husband and wife are regarded as a vital part of marriage:

> our counselors, clinicians, and clergy join with the layman in emphasizing that coital relationships with orgasm for both partners are a vital and necessary part of life--a goal to be achieved and maintained. This message is repeated ad infinitum in marriage manuals and articles in popular magazines. (Gebhard, 1970:90)

But with divorce that is all changed. Established sex patterns with her husband are of course disrupted on both the physical and emotional levels. Some individuals suppress or repress all sexual desire, and this may be accompanied by bitterness towards all males. By contrast, some become relatively promiscuous partly to avenge their spouses, or to reassure themselves that they are still desirable. In cases where one's self-image is shattered promiscuity may arise from the desire to punish and degrade oneself further (Waller, 1930/1967; Kirkpatrick, 1963).

This is substantiated by Hunt and Hunt (1979). They reported that 7 or 8 per cent of formerly married women became "refusers," neither seeking nor accepting sexual involvements for several years after separation and divorce, and sometimes, permanently. This may result from moral and religious convictions, but much more often, it is the result of some internal disorder such as fear--fear of males, of sexual inadequacy and friqidity, of sex itself--or the inability "to fall out of love" with the former spouse, to

sever the marital emotional ties. This last situation is scarcely ever permanent. Of course, there are always some who are incapacitated by chronic illness, disease and advanced old age.

Secondly, there are the "abusers" who comprised about 5 per cent of female respondents. These use sex in ways that perpetuate their internal problems and keep them alienated from others, regardless of how many physical contacts they have. They use sex as an analgesic, a pain killer that gives passing relief from their sense of failure or undesirability, or as an intoxicant to conteract their chronic low self-esteem or depression; or as a punishment used vicariously against the former spouses. Some of the "abusers" remain stuck here while others outgrow this phase with an increased sense of self-worth and respect for others, and learn to appreciate sex as an important part of a legitimate and healthy relationship, and thus join the "users."

The users typically go through three phases as follows. (1) Ego-repair. Frequently the trauma of divorce leaves one with an inadequate self-image, and "dead from the waist down." Initial sexual encounters give assurance of self-worth and abilities. (2) Exploration. Having sex with a new partner scarcely ever is the same as sex in marriage, either on the physical or emotional level, and many find that the new experiences have a type of excitement never

experienced in marriage. This can lead to exploration of techniques and partners. (3) Reconstruction. This, the final stage, may be entered after either or both of the above, or indeed, directly without having to go through either of them. Here, sex is used as an integral part of a loving, caring relationship which, if successful and lasting, leads to remarriage. If not, the search for a new partner is resumed, a search which may be repeated a number of times before satisfaction and confidence are achieved, and commitment to a new marriage takes place.

Corroboration for the disruption of existing sexual patterns on one hand, and the substantially widespread use of sex by partners in divorce, on the other, can be found in two studies on problems closely allied to the sexual difficulties experienced during the divorce process. The first deals with the cessation of marital intercourse. Edwards and Booth (1976) found that marital coitus had ceased for a definable period (median eight weeks) in one-third of a random sample of 365 spouses in intact marriages, who were relatively young and had been married an average of 11 years. They found that 32 per cent of the males and 36 per cent of the females reported such a cessation. Among those reporting cessation of intercourse, 42 per cent of the males and 35 per cent of the females reported marital discord as the cause. This was by far the most common reason given, followed by illness, decreased interest in

sex, and surgery. Since marital coitus is discontinuous on such a widespread scale in intact marriages, and since marital discord is the chief cause, it is justifiable to assume that usually intercourse between spouses ceases early in the divorce process, which typically is frought with conflict.

The other study worth mentioning is by Rindfuss and Bumpass (1977). They report that a recent Current Population Survey indicates that about 8 per cent of the births to twice-married women in recent cohorts occurred between the dates of their divorces and remarriage (U.S Bureau of the Census, 1974). Many of these babies may have been conceived in the former marriages, but at the same time this estimate underestimates the extent of childbearing during marital disruption because it excludes births between separation and divorce. Actually a quarter of remarried women in the 1970 National Fertility Study (Ryder and Westoff, 1971) reported a birth during a period of marital disruption. Possible explanations of these pregnancies are: (1) they were a "last chance" effort to save the marriages, (2) they were caused by future spouses, or (3) they were fathered by someone else. The effects of these births on the postdivorce trauma and adjustment merit serious study as there is no relevant information to date.

Paul Gebhard (1970) published his findings on the sexual activity of women whose marriages had been disrupted. His

most salient findings were the following. (1) The majority of women whose marriages had ended engaged in sexual intercourse while divorced, separated or widowed. (2) These women most commonly began postmarital intercourse within one year after the end of the marriages. (3) The average frequency varied from 36 to 73 times a year up to the age of 40, after which there was a marked decrease. (4) The divorced exceeded the widows in terms of the per cent who had postmarital relations, the frequency of these relations, and the speed with which such relations were begun after the end of the marriages.

Disruptions in Her Social Life

The divorcee is apt to find herself like the "fifth wheel" in social situations with former friends. Lantz et al. (1968) asserted that married and engaged women regard the divorcee as a threat to their relationships with their husbands or fiances. Ploscowe (1955) expressed the opinion that many men think that the divorced woman can be sexually seduced more easily, since they assume she is now sexually inactive while they know she is sexually experienced. Weiss (1975a) and Hunt and Hunt (1979) found much supporting evidence of this attitude among males. Divorcees, in consequence, feel an urgent need to make new friends, and these are frequently found among the ranks of other divorcees who have shared experiences (Hunt and Hunt, 1979).

Kirkpatrick (1963) stated that to the divorcee, society seems to be an alien and lonely place, and that she usually desires to escape from those things which remind her of her former husband, or rushes headlong into frenetic activities. Some prefer to isolate themselves and nurse their hurt egos in private, while others return to their families of orientation, seeking the comfort they received as children.

Albrecht (1980) found that his female respondents reported dropping their memberships in clubs and organizations, and increasing their interaction with relatives--a change in their social lives away from organizations and back towards their families of orientation.

Many established social patterns of behavior are effectively disrupted by divorce, requiring the divorcee to develop new patterns. The pair relationship is broken making it necessary to learn to function and live alone again without the companionship of a spouse. Further, she may be socially inhibited from revealing her true feelings if she is bitter, confused or profoundly hurt, and finds herself forced, as Mowrer (1935) and Horney (1950) pointed out, to play roles that are undesirable and repelling.

Disruptions in Her Financial Status

In Goode's study, the ensuing financial situation after the divorce was not perceived as a significant problem by those mothers who had remarried. However, those who had not remarried reported financial problems. On the average, those divorced women had almost as much income, from all sources, as their ex-husbands had earned. In sharp contrast to these findings of the late forties, recent data indicate that objective financial reality for divorced mothers in the 70s was indeed very grim. Single-parent families headed by a woman had only half the income, on the average, of single-parent families headed by a man, and a mere third of the income enjoyed by husband-wife families (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1973). This coincides with more recent data on the overall picture of the earnings of men and women. In 1977 the median weekly earnings of women were $156, compared with $253 for men (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1978).

Albrecht's findings (1980) indicate that divorced women's perceptions of their current income coincide with the facts. Two-thirds of his female respondents reported that their incomes following divorce were significantly lower than before it. In spite of the passage of time, a mere 7 per cent of them were able to report a higher postdivorce income. Consequently, the divorcee is likely to have to live on a much smaller income than she was accustomed to during her marriage, and perhaps have to learn to handle her personal finances herself for the first time in her life.

The number and ages of the children influence the divorced mother's financial status (Landis and Landis 1968) and in the majority of cases, child support and alimony are inadequate for the needs of the divorcee and her children. The trauma of this experience is often increased by the fact that she failed to anticipate it realistically (Groves and Groves, 1947). Many such mothers who never worked before find it necessary to make a belated entry into the workforce. Further, their financial situation is often made worse by difficulty in establishing credit.

Blair (1969) found that the levels of adjustment after divorce were significantly related to Rodgers' (1964) and Rowe's (1966) stages of the family life cycle. Adjustment was most difficult for divorcees in Stage VI, at which point all the children were still living with the divorcee. Adjustment was least difficult in Stage VII, when the children were being launched, and the youngest child who was living with the divorcee was over 20 years of age. This finding suggests that the family life cycle stage, rather than the number of children, may be a more accurate indicator of adjustment after the divorce.

Approximately 60 per cent of all divorces involve minor children; "around 1 million children a year suffer through the dissolution of their families" ("Children of Divorce," 1980:58). Divorce often produces trauma in these children. This is especially so when the children believed that their

parents were happily married. On the other hand, where the marriage was obviously unhappy, the children often experience relief when the divorce takes place (Landis, 1960).

Legal Process Source of Trauma

The Adversary System

Until a decade ago the adversary system of divorce was used and is still in wide use today. This process tends to generate strife and bitterness because one of the partners is accused of wrongdoing, and the attorneys of both parties seek to get the best possible settlements for their respective clients. Virtually all authorities agree that much of the vindictiveness which traditionally has been associated with divorce is traceable to the hostilities that are engendered by the divorce process (Leslie 1982:565).

Spanier and Anderson (1979) conducted in-depth interviews with 205 people in Pennsylvania who had been separated 26 months or less. Over half of their respondents indicated dissatisfaction with the legal process (including the laws, judges, attorneys, etc.) and 84 per cent desired change in the Pennsylvania law, still using the adversary system exclusively. These respondents experienced a wide range of problems with the legal system, most of them centering around the attorneys. One-third of them found their attorneys no help at all, half of them believed the

attorneys' fees were outrageous or too high, and 29 per cent of them were advised by their attorneys to do things which were calculated to aggravate their spouses. They suggested such things as not paying bills, not speaking to the other spouse, taking money out of the savings account, and moving out of the house. The study strongly suggests that the adversary system encourages collusion and dishonesty. Significant numbers reported lying in hearings and using trumped-up statements in court which were to their own advantage and damaging to the spouse.

Under the adversary system of divorce, "grounds" for divorce have to be presented. About 52 per cent of all U.S. divorces have been granted on legal grounds of physical or mental cruelty. Mental cruelty is an umbrella category which includes suspicion, jealousy, untruthfulness, and vague subjective complaints (Levinger, 1966). About 23 per cent of divorce cases were granted on grounds of desertion, 4 per cent for non-support, and about 1 per cent for adultery. Needless to say, these legal grounds for divorce are not necessarily the real causes of divorce, and may not coincide with the causes perceived by the spouses involved. Studies have found little relationship between statutory grounds for divorce and the actual causes of marital failure (Harmsworth and Minnis, 1955; Mowrer, 1924; Stetson and Wright, 1975).

In a study of 600 couples filing for divorce in Cleveland, Ohio, Levinger (1966) reported on the causes presented by the divorcing couples. Overall, wives' complaints were twice as numerous as husbands'. They complained 11 times more frequently than husbands about physical abuse, four times more often about financial and drinking problems, and three times more than husbands about verbal abuse.

Only in three categories did husbands complain more frequently than the wives: sexual incompatability, in-law trouble, and excessive demands. Mental cruelty was brought up most frequently by both sexes: 40 per cent of the females and 29.7 per cent of the males mentioned it. Next came neglect of home and children: 39 per cent of the females and 26.2 per cent of the males singled this out. Financial problems and physical abuse tied as the third most widespread complaint from the females: 36.8 per cent of them listed both. By comparison, only 8.7 per cent of the males referred to financial problems and a mere 3.3 per cent complained of physical abuse. This last figure on physical abuse raises some questions in view of the fact that other studies have found that up to one-third of families in which violence is used report physical hitting by the wife (Gelles, 1972).

As might be expected many more females (26.5 per cent) than males (5 per cent) complained of spouses with drinking

problems. In the matter of infidelity, 24 per cent of the females and 20 per cent of the males accused their spouses of this.

Levinger found that complaints differed across socioeconomic lines. In general, spouses in the middle-class were more concerned with psychological and emotional interaction, while those in the lower-class mainly mentioned financial problems, and the physical actions of their partners. This coincides with Galbraith's observation: "In a poor society, not only do economic considerations dominate social attitudes but they rigidly specify the problems that will be accorded priority" (Galbraith, 1964:117). Further, Maslow (1954) stated that each human desires to fulfill a variety of needs and postulated the following categorical order in which they can be gratified. (1) Subsistence needs of hunger, thirst, and other physiological requirements. (2) Needs for safety and protection from external harm. (3) Needs for love, belongingness and inter-personal warmth. (4) Needs for esteem and respect from other persons. (5) Only after the above are satisfied to a minimal extent can the individual seek to achieve self-actualization.

Levinger concludes that even in the U.S. a large proportion of married couples are so heavily engaged with coping to satisfy the needs of the first and second levels (subsistence and safety), that they are unable to worry

about the achievement of mature love or interpersonal respect, not to speak of that rare quality of self-actualization. Verbal therapies may be not merely unsuccessful, but largely irrelevant to the needs of individuals striving at the basic level during and after the divorce process.

Komarovsky (1964) and Rubin (1976) had similar findings in their studies of working-class couples. In these marriages they found little attention given to such qualities as sharing, communication, and intimacy. Their most important marriage goals were being able to provide a reasonably good living and "being good to the children."

No-Fault Divorce

As a better and more realistic approach to divorce and to reduce the trauma involved, Florida and California implemented no-fault divorce laws in the early 70s (Nye and Berardo, 1973). Since then over half of the American states have adopted various forms of no-fault divorce laws (Wright and Stetson, 1978). In general, these new laws dropped the term "divorce" and substituted "dissolution of marriage," to be granted because of the irremediable breakdown of the marriage.

Under no-fault laws either spouse can be required to pay alimony, and the court can require either or both to contribute to the support of minor children. In California, since its law went into effect, a significantly smaller

percentage of women with young children have been receiving alimony than formerly (Hunt and Hunt, 1979:209). However, it is unclear if this is the result of the new laws or simply the continuation of an already existing trend, because a national survey in 1975 found that only one out of every seven separated or divorced women had been awarded alimony or maintenance--half as many as in 1939 (Bryant, 1975:41)

The no-fault divorce laws would appear to be more liberal than those of the adversary system, making it easier for parties to obtain divorce. But that does not mean that the no-fault laws led to higher divorce rates. Indeed, making divorce laws more restrictive or more liberal has appeared to have had little effect on the divorce rate (Abel, 1973; Wright and Stetson, 1978). Besides, it has been claimed that strict laws have failed to restrict climbing divorce rates because those seeking divorces have been able to manipulate the laws and the legal system (Blake, 1962; Spanier and Anderson, 1979). Rheinstein (1971) argued that perjury, falsification of evidence, and unnecessary animosity and hardship, rather than a lowering of the divorce rate, have been the outcome of the adversary system.

Trauma Peak Precedes Divorce Decree

Existing data indicate that the period of greatest trauma for the couples is not at the time of the divorce itself. Goode's respondents indicated that the worst time was at the final separation. In Albrecht's study (1980) they characterized the period of final decision as the most difficult. This was a period of increasing conflict between the spouses, forcing them to choose divorce as an alternative to a bad relationship.

This is consistent with the findings of Brown et al. (1976) who, during in-depth interviews with a sample of divorcees living in the Boston area, found that a significant majority of those women reported that things were "easier now" compared with the period prior to the divorce. It would seem that despite the problems faced by the divorcees in heading a family all alone, and in trying to provide for it on reduced resources, they consider their lot better than what they had to endure during the final stages of their marriages.

Anyhow, typically by the time the divorce actually takes place, at least the very worst is over. The individuals work through the trauma by drawing on their own inner resources, and with help from their own families and friends, and sometimes from professionals too.

After divorce they move steadily towards dating and then remarriage. Goode (1956) found that 54 per cent of mothers

who had been divorced two years had remarried. Hunt and Hunt (1979) found that divorcees in recent years had become more cautious about entering new love relationships and remarriages, probably because the spiraling divorce rate caused wariness towards remarriage. They found that only 40 per cent of all divorcees had remarried within three years after the divorce. This may be partially explained by the current phenomenon of living together.

During the 1970s living together became a widespread social phenomenon, especially among college students. In 1979 there were over two and a half million Americans living together without being married. This was more than double the number reported in 1970 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980). Very few studies of this phenomenon among non-college student populations have been conducted. One such study collected data from a nationwide random sample of 2510 men between the ages of 20 and 30 years (Clayton and Voss, 1977). The authors concluded that cohabitation may be a prelude to marriage for some persons. For others, especially those who have experienced unsatisfactory marriages, cohabitation may be a temporary or permanent alternative to remarriage. So this phenomenon may partially explain the apparently slower rate of remarriage among divorcees in recent years.

Another explanation may be found in the "marriage penalty" tax law. It was created in 1969 by Congress when

it revised the tax laws to reduce a sizeable penalty imposed on single taxpayers, but the correction created a new problem. The tax on the combined income of a husband and wife with comparable salaries is considerably higher than it would be if the earners were single and reported their incomes separately.

Under the law, marriage can cost $391 for a couple making $20,000 a year. If the couple jointly earns $60,000, the "marriage penalty" amounts to $3,654.

> To get around paying the extra tax, some married couples have gotten divorced, some singles live together out of wedlock, and some who find cohabitation morally uncomfortable have postponed wedding plans. ("Tax laws may end profits gained by 'living in sin.'" 1981:12A)

Creative Divorce

Many authors for many years have been pointing out that although divorce is costly from a social and psychological standpoint, it is undesirable and indeed impossible for couples to remain married in all cases (Llewellyn, 1933; MacIver, 1937; Bee, 1959; Udry, 1966; and Womble, 1966). Consequently, divorce can be a positive, beneficial experience offering a legitimate escape from an intolerable situation and an avenue to a new life in remarriage or mature singlehood. Even when divorce is a traumatic experience it can be transformed into a creative process.

> A creative divorce is essentially the beginning of a journey of self-discovery and development, triggered by the crisis of separation, that can go on for as long as you live. The elements of a

> creative divorce are found in even the earliest stages of separation when you recognize and appreciate the "seeds beneath the snow," those early signs of the undiscovered person that was buried in your marriage. (Krantzler, 1973:236)

Cycle of Divorce

Divorce is a very complex and prolonged experience as well as a painful one. That is because so many things are happening at once in the process. These various components of the complex experience can come in different orders and in varying intensities, and they are the more painful and puzzling for the individual because our society is not yet equipped to handle any of them well.

Bohannan (1970) identified six main components in the divorce experience, components which he calls overlapping experiences. They are as follows. (1) The emotional divorce which centers around the problem of the deteriorating marriage. (2) The legal divorce based on grounds. (3) The economic divorce which deals with money and property. (4) The coparental divorce which deals with custody, single-parent homes and visitation. (5) The community divorce surrounding the changes of friends and community that every divorcee experiences. (6) The psychic divorce, dealing with the problems of regaining individual autonomy.

Further comment on these six components will be confined to the first and last on the list. These two, the emotional

divorce and the psychic divorce, merit fuller explanation because they shed much light on the postdivorce adjustment cycle, which is central in this dissertation. Besides, the other four components have been amply elaborated on already.

Emotional divorce is likely to be the first visible stage of a deteriorating marriage. This occurs when the partners withold positive emotions and displace them with negative ones. They may continue to work together as a social team, but their attraction and trust for each other have disappeared. The natural and healthy "growing apart" of the stable married couple is very different from this. As marriages mature, the spouses grow in new directions, but they also develop bonds of growing interdependence. With emotional divorce, people do not grow together as they grow apart. Instead they become mutually antagonistic and grate on each other. Conflicts erupt over real or perceived issues, and sometimes they are afraid to fight over the real issues, but instead, through displacement, fight over the two major socially accepted issues: sex and money.

Finally comes the psychic divorce. It is usually the last and always the most difficult. Bohannan (1970) stated that he could not find a word sufficiently strong or precise enough to describe the difficulty of the psychic divorce process. Weiss (1975a) uses the term "imprinting." The phenomenon of imprinting in the animal world is well

documented. Something analogous takes place between spouses, and the ensuing bonds are extremely hard to sever definitively. Each partner to the ex-marriage must turn himself or herself again into an autonomous social individual completely independent of the former spouse. Further, people who are married tend to become socially part of a couple or a family and lose the habit of seeing themselve as individuals. As they are faced with the need to become autonomous again they are probably afraid and feel unable to cope, and are certainly lonely. This partly explains the widespread phenomenon experienced by researchers of divorce: the tendency of divorcees to indulge in "instant intimacy," pouring out their most intimate troubles to a perfect stranger as a catharsis. The grief has to be worked out alone without benefit of traditional rites. In divorce one is very much on one's own.

Cycle of Readjustment

Waller and Hill (1951) proposed a general theory of readjustment which postulated four stages of readjustment through which divorcees progress: (1) breaking old habits, (2) beginnings of reconstruction of life, (3) seeking new love objects, and (4) readjustment completed.

Blair (1969) found that three-fourths of her divorcee respondents had attained a medium level of adjustment and

that breaking old habits was the longest and most difficult stage in the cycle. They completed the four stages of adjustment not in the order listed by Waller and Hill, but in the following sequence: (1) beginnings of reconstruction of life, (2) seeking new love objects, (3) breaking old habits, and (4) readjustment completed. These stages will be described now in this empirical sequence.

1. Beginnings of reconstruction of life. Readjustment involves a painful mourning process which is filled with memories of the past. The divorcee begins to emerge from the stage of regression in which she first found herself when sex expression on the adult, socialized level was blocked. This emergence may involve some degradation of sex, and promiscuity. Some few remain blocked at this level but the majority progress as they find solace for their ego wounds. The divorcee re-forms her social world to meet her new circumstances. The world organized for dual participation no longer accommodates her conveniently and she must alter her associations somewhat and form new friends. With great pain new habits begin to be formed. After the shock of loss, she may not care to go on living at first, but she does go on living. She must eat, sleep, shop, and work alone. For a time these activities are meaningless, empty, and painful. She may find herself unburdening her secrets and troubles in casual contacts because of the pain of lost intimacy.

2. Seeking new love objects. At this stage, in the area of sex the divorcee is no longer seeking an outlet for her blocked sex life, but searches for a new love object--one to love and to be loved by as before. This may involve a series of affairs which gradually approach or even surpass the nature and intensity of the one that has been broken. One's daily tasks begin to take on meaning again even though a certain amount of mourning still endures.

3. Breaking old habits. Habits, especially those laden with emotion and based on close intimacy, prove to be quite difficult to be broken. Part of the difficulty lies in the fact that the regular routine of daily living must go on, and these actions--sitting down to breakfast, deciding what to cook, solving problems, etc.--all bring back memories of the former spouse, because he was part of or central to these activities. This gives rise to poignancy and grief over and over again. Even when it seems that one has gotten over it, some insignificant object or action, or meeting an old friend can trigger it all again. It is like a chronic illness that comes and goes but keeps going on and on.

(4) Readjustment completed. The mourning process is terminated, and unsettling memories eventually cease. Sexual readjustment is complete in that one has found a new meaningful love object or arranged one's sex life in some other way in mature adulthood which no longer causes conflict. Habits take on a new meaning and are organized

into a new life. A strain of consistency exerts itself into the personality. A new life organization and a new philosophy of life emerge. Readjustment is complete.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this survey is based on Lee's theory of migration in terms of push and pull factors (Lee, 1966). First, Lee defined migration broadly as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence. No restriction was placed by Lee upon the distance of the move nor upon the voluntary or involuntary nature of the act, and no distinction was made between external and internal migration. Since divorce involves permanent or semi-permanent change of residence for at least one of the spouses (except in the instance when both continue to live under the same roof after divorce) divorce can be included in Lee's broad definition of migration. Besides the process of physical movement there is also, of course, the departure and re-entry or relocation in both the social and socio-physical sense.

Factors in the Divorce Decision and Process

The factors which enter into the decision to divorce and the process of divorce may be categorized under four headings. (1) Endogenous factors associated with the marriage itself, which is the point of origin. (2)

Exogenous factors associated with divorce and after, which form the destination. (3) Intervening obstacles and facilitating networks and resources. (4) Personal factors.

In every marriage there are many endogenous factors which act to hold the spouses together in the marriage, and still other endogenous factors which tend to separate them. There are still others to which spouses are essentially indifferent. Some of these factors affect most people in the same way, while others affect different people in various ways. Thus fulfillment and happiness would tend to keep the spouses together, whereas serious continuous conflict would tend to repel them away from each other. By contrast, protectiveness would be viewed positively by a dependent type spouse, but negatively by an autonomous type.

Turning now to the destination, divorce and after, a spouse may perceive positives and negatives there which are called exogenous factors. Autonomy, professionalism, further education and similar factors would be seen as pull factors. Lower income, greater responsibility, loneliness and similar considerations could be seen as repelling factors.

Needless to say, all factors that serve as push and pull forces at the locus of origin--marriage, and destination--divorce and after, are precisely understood neither by sociologists nor the spouses themselves. Like Bentham's calculus of pleasure and pain, the calculus of the

push and pull factors at the origin and destination is always inexact.

However, this important difference between the factors at the locus of origin and destination needs to be noted. The factors at the locus of origin are present, pressing and well perceived by the spouse involved. But the factors at destination are distant, in the future, and somewhat uncertain. This uncertainty can cause either fear or excitement depending on one's personality.

While divorce may result from a comparison of the endogenous factors at origin and the exogenous factors at destination, a simple calculus of the plusses and minuses does not bring about the decision to divorce. The balance in favor of the move or decision must be enough to overcome hesitancy and fear to act.

Further, between the two points or loci there stands a set of intervening obstacles which must be overcome. Among these obstacles are the legal divorce process, custody of children and property settlements, and community norms counter to divorce. These obstacles differ from state to state, individual to individual, and community to community. Overcoming these obstacles can be made easier by facilitating networks and resources, such as good friends, a helpful attorney, professional aid, and financial resources.

Finally, there are many personal factors which facilitate or retard the decision to divorce. One such important

factor is age. Youths tend to be venturesome and active, seeking new expeiences; with age comes caution and careful deliberation. Thus, ceteris paribus we could expect younger spouses to be more disposed to go ahead and decide to divorce than older spouses. This could explain in part why there is a negative relationship between length of marriage and divorce rate. The decision to divorce is seldom if ever completely rational, and for some individuals the rational component is less than the non-rational. Further, it must be noted that it is not so much the actual factors at origin and destination as the perception of these factors which result in divorce.

A wife who goes through a divorce as the result of endogenous push factors solely, without any pull from exogenous factors, is impelled into a situation she does not desire and probably experiences much unhappiness both before and after the divorce. The unhappiness prior to the divorce results from the push factors. The unhapiness afterwards is exacerbated by the absence of positive pull factors, or more precisely by her failure to perceive any such factors, and this unhappiness will persist until such time when she begins to discover such positive factors. By contrast, a wife who enters divorce as the result of exogenous pull factors probably experiences minimal trauma because she looks forward with anticipation to her new situation and perceives herself as losing but little in leaving her spouse.

Advantages of This Conceptual Framework

There are three main advantages in using this conceptual model of the push-pull endogenous and exogenous factors. First, by focusing on the two points--origin and destination--attention is drawn to the factors outside the marriage as well as within it that contribute to divorce. It is hoped that this will bring about the correction of an omission in the literature. Most authors, taking their cue from and relying on court proceedings which always focus on the state of the marriages being dissolved, have given most of their attention to such factors at the point of origin as physical and mental cruelty, desertion and non-support. Adultery as legal ground for divorce has been used in only about 1 per cent of all divorce cases (Glick and Carter, 1970), and this is readily understandable and highly desirable. But it is hard to justify the sociology literature taking the same course. In general, apart from striking exceptions, the idea of romance and emotional involvement outside of the marriage is totally neglected. The frequency of intercourse outside of marriage has been duly tallied, but it has been treated not as a precipitator of divorce, but as if these were mere physical acts devoid of any emotional involvement and consequences.

The second advantage flows from the first. The focus on the exogenous pull factors provides a ready explanation why so many apparently happy marriages end up in divorce.

The third advantage is this: the conceptual framework allows us to give adequate attention to the fact that every separation/divorce involves two spouses, not just one. The second spouse in a disintegrating marriage is readily seen as a push factor, and many wives, for instance, are pushed or maneuvered into divorce by the husbands. Exchange theory on divorce, for example, focuses excessively on the spouse as an individual choosing benefits over costs and does not allow for consideration of the pair relationship.

Hypotheses

Goode sought to test general hypotheses to the effect that

(1) Divorce is traumatic

(2) Divorce is often secured for trivial reasons

(3) Adequate adjustment after divorce is rare

(4) There are undesirable effects of divorce upon children

(5) Most divorcees are neurotic

This proposed study will elaborate upon the first four of these postulates, omitting number five. In addition the following will also be analyzed.

(1) Few will have experienced significant disapproval of their divorce from family and friends because divorce has become so pervasive

(2) Divorced non-remarried mothers will report severe economic difficulties in spite of working full-time

(3) A significant number of non-remarried mothers will be cohabiting

(4) Despite a decade of no-fault divorce laws, the old patterns of alimony, custody of children and child support will still be prevalent

(5) Most respondents will report having experienced discrimination

(6) Those whose divorces resulted primarily from endogenous factors will report relatively high trauma

(7) Those whose divorces resulted primarily from exogenous pull factors will report relatively low trauma

(8) There will be a negative relationship between level of trauma and existence of facilitating networks and resources.

Summary

The attitude to divorce has changed and evolved during the twentieth century. At first divorce was seen as a religious and moral evil. Then for several decades, it was perceived as a social problem threatening the welfare of society. Then, for a time it was critically and harshly assessed as a psychological problem.

Thanks to Waller's insights and sensitivity, both sociologists and society became aware of the trauma and

stress of divorce, leading to a better and more sympathetic understanding of those who are involved in separation and divorce. In spite of the widespread incidence of divorce, and the improved attitude and understanding of society, separation and divorce generally remain a painful process for all involved. This pain could be substantially reduced by the professionals who are involved in all divorces--attorneys--if their understanding and attitude would change and improve.

The escalation in the divorce rate over the past two decades seems attributable, in part, to the growing economic independence of females resulting from their participation in the workforce. For this and other reasons we can hardly expect any dramatic downturn in the divorce rate in the immediate future as more and more females enter the professions and workforce, and strive for parity with males in the marketplace.

The remarriage rate indicates that divorce has not brought about cynicism and disenchantment with marriage. This would seem to support Parsons' theory that divorce is functional in our modern, rapidly changing, mobile society, enabling parties to extricate themselves from intolerable situations, and seek fulfillment with another spouse in another marriage, or in other adult single lifestyles.

CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In this chapter we will describe the population selected for this survey, along with the sampling procedures used. Next, the time and method of the data collection will be detailed, followed by data on the response rate. This will be followed by an outline of the techniques used in processing and analyzing the data. Lastly, the more important information stemming from our field experiences will be presented.

Research Population

The population chosen for this survey was divorced, English-speaking mothers whose marital dissolutions were processed in the Dade County Circuit Court Civil, Florida. Excluded were women of Cuban origin who spoke only Spanish. This exclusion was made, not due to lack of interest in this segment of the general population, but to avoid the difficulties involved in developing and administering bilingual instruments, and the hazards inherent in analyzing and interpreting bilingual data. Excluded also were all childless women.

Unlike Goode's study (1956) which placed a lower age limit of 20 years and an upper limit of 38 years on the respondents, no age limits were imposed on the respondents in the present survey. This deliberate decision was made in view of the fact that divorce is experienced at all stages of the family life cycle, and by married couples of all ages, though with varying frequency. If divorce was ever restricted to the earlier years of marriage, recent and current evidence show that that day is gone.

Survey Sample

A stratified sample of mothers divorced 2, 6, 12, and 24 months was drawn. This was done so that by using a quasi-panel study, the incidence, intensity, duration, and resolution of the divorce trauma could be studied over the two critical years immediately following divorce. Thus we had four divorce cohorts which we could compare, and which were designated as follows.

Group I: Mothers divorced 2 months

Group II: Mothers divorced 6 months

Group III: Mothers divorced 12 months

Group IV: Mothers divorced 24 months

Approximately 1,000 divorces are granted in Dade County each month, so there was an ample pool to draw on for each cohort. The lists of names of subjects were drawn at different times, to coincide with the progress of the data

collection, from the records of the Miami Dade Courthouse. Valuable assistance in this step of the survey was given by a local trade paper, The Miami Review, which published daily lists of divorces obtained in Dade County. The appropriate lists were copied from microfilm copies of the appropriate past editions of this paper stored in the public library. These lists were supplemented by searches through the courthouse divorce records.

One very serious limitation on the value of these lists, which caused much prolonged searching for the whereabouts and identities of the potential respondents, arose from the fact that the court records contained the names of the parties to the divorces, but not their addresses. The result was that there were just two facts to go on in the data collection process: the names of the parties and the dates of the final dissolutions of the marriages.

Data Collection

Once the sample was drawn from the Courthouse records, the next step was to trace and contact the subjects by telephone, to inform them that they had been chosen by a randomized process to take part in the survey, and to invite them to participate. The questionnaire was immediately mailed to each one who consented to participate (see Appendix I, which contains the questionnaire). The return of the questionnaire upon completion by the respondent was

made as easy and simple as possible. The questionnaire had a self-sealing feature, complete with return address and return postage prepaid.

If the respondent failed to complete and return the questionnaire within three weeks, a follow-up telephone call was made. In an alarming number of cases the respondents said they had not received the questionnaire in the mail. When that was the case, replacements were mailed immediately, with the consent of the respondents. In other instances the respondents stated they had already mailed back the questionnaire completed. In these instances, the difficulties with the mail were explained, and usually then the respondent would agree that a replacement be sent out after two or three days, if the original one had not been received by us by that time.

More typically, however, when the follow-up call was made, the respondent would say that she had not completed it yet, or had forgotten it, or that the children had "lost it." Where necessary, further follow-up calls were made at one-week intervals.

The data were collected in the summer of 1979 and in January and February of 1980. Originally it was planned that data be collected from 400 respondents, and that the data collection be completed by the end of the summer of 1979. However, this proved to be impossible on account of the difficulty and length of time involved in locating the

respondents. For this reason, an additional two months were necessary, and authorization was received to reduce the number of respondents from 400 to 200.

The data for this survey consisted of the responses from 203 respondents and each response set contained 207 variables. The respondents were approximately equally divided among the four groups as follows.

Group I:	Mothers divorced 2 months:	56 respondents
Grour II:	Mothers divcrced 6 months:	50 respondents
Group III:	Mothers divorced 12 months:	49 respondents
Grcup IV:	Mothers divorced 24 months:	48 respondents

Response Rate

From a total listing of 3,039 names a total of 560 prospective respondents were eventually traced and contacted by phone. Of these, 299, or 53.39 per cent, agreed to participate in the survey. Then, 67.89 per cent of those who had consented tc participate returned completed, usable questionnaires, giving us a total of 203 respondents.

A very important question is to what extent may we generalize from the findings of our survey? Carefully planned efforts were made to secure a representative sample. However, caution is indicated by reason of the relative smallness of our final number of respondents, totaling 203. Another reason for caution is the response rate. Two-thirds, or 67.89 per cent precisely, of those who agreed to

participate actually returned completed questionnaires. This can be judged as a satisfactory response rate. However, it must be kept in mind that a total of 560 prospective respondents were traced and contacted, and of these only 36.25 per cent actually participated.

In spite of these limitations, our findings may be generalized to other populations similar to Miami's, albeit with caution. We believe our findings are certainly more representative of the population at large than those findings of other studies where availability samples, even of vast size, were used (e.g. Hunt and Hunt, 1979). Further, we feel that our findings are superior in representativeness to those based on clinical data, which data, by the very nature of the case, are representative only of those who attend clinics.

Data Analysis

The data collected in this survey lent themselves to various techniques of analysis. Both descriptive and inferential statistics were employed. Descriptive techniques were used to present, among other details, the characteristics of the respondents, their marriages and remarriages, as well as the postdivorce period. Regression and multiple regression techniques were used mainly in the analysis of the divorce trauma.

The data were analyzed using Statistical Analysis System (SAS). Computing was done using the facilities of the Northwest Regional Data Center of the University of Florida in Gainesville.

Field experiences

Reference has already been made to the difficulties involved in tracing the prospective respondents, whose names had been secured from the courthouse records. The plan was to do this by finding their telephone numbers in the telephone directory, or by getting them from Information. Typically, there were several listings in the telephone directory corresponding with the name to be traced. In one case the listings for one and the same name covered two and a half pages in the directory. These multiple listings necessitated many telephone calls that had to be done with great sensitivity and discretion before the correct person was located, if she was located at all.

During the first week or so, great care was taken to call only those numbers which corresponded with the names of the female partners, carefully avoiding possible contact with the ex-husbands, because it was expected that they would respond with strong negative reactions if they were called. However, practically all of the female listings that were called during the first week belonged either to elderly shut-ins or young singles, and so no subjects were traced.

After this dismal experience, the decision was reluctantly made to call the listings corresponding to the ex-husbands' names. The outcome had some happy surprises.

The first surprise was that many ex-wives were still using the same phone numbers they had during their marriages and these numbers were typically listed under their husbands' names. On reflection, this should have been anticipated since in many divorce cases the wife gets the home as part of the property settlement. And when she continues to live at the same address, it seems she tends to leave the telephone listing unchanged--at least for some time.

The second surprise was the reactions of the ex-husbands in the cases where we did actually contact them. Almost invariably they were kind and helpful, volunteering the ex-wive's current telephone numbers or addresses, or volunteering to get them for us. Some of the ex-husbands did not feel free to divulge their ex-spouses' current numbers. These almost invariably suggested that we call back again in a day of so, to give them time to get their ex-spouses' permisson to divulge them to us.

In many instances, where the ex-spouses were on cordial terms, the ex-husbands would undertake "to put in a good word" for us before we would call the ex-wives.

It was striking how open and ready these men were to discuss their divorces on their own initiative. Indeed many

of them displayed a need to talk about their situations. In these cases it was truly moving and humbling to listen to these men pour out their hearts in sorrow over losing their wives and children. Many of them shed tears, especially when speaking about their children, whom they tended to perceive as lost to them. Every effort was made to give these men the time and consideration they wanted, because of the nature of the cases, and also because they were indispensable allies in our endeavor.

Contacting these men was not only a beneficial experience, but a gratifying one also. The following anecdote will serve as an example, even though it is unique in its details. There was a certain prospective respondent, whom we will call Mrs. Jane Doe, whom we were trying to trace. We knew from the record that her ex-husband was Captain John Doe, and found his listing in the telephone directory. We were most reluctant to call his number because of unhappy experiences we had in years past when trying to deal with military officers. However, after all other attempts to trace our subject failed, the decision was reluctantly made to call his number, with the fervent hope that she, not he, would answer the phone. The call was made, and to our chagrin a male answered. We asked to speak with Mrs. Jane Doe. With great cordiality he regretfully informed us that that was impossible since she was away on vacation, but if we called back two weeks later, she would

be back. Then he went on to explain that he was her ex-husband, that he had returned to his former home to take care of the children while his ex-wife went on vacation, and that he was a ship's captain, spending most of his time in the Caribbean. Then for about 90 minutes he held us enthralled with his stories and lore of the Caribbean. Ever since then it has been a cherished dream of this author that some day he will take a Caribbean cruise with that captain.

Most of the ex-husbands contacted showed a respect for their ex-spouses, and often affection and love too. There was a small minority who betrayed the opposite feelings, along with gladness that the marriages were ended. They could be exemplified by the response of a certain man who was apparently somewhat inebriated. He was a little truculent, but did give us his ex-wife's phone number. Before hanging up we thanked him, and expressed the hope that he would have a good night. Earnestly he replied, "I most certainly will, now that I'm rid of that woman."

The decision was made to commence the data collection process by establishing the list of names for Group II, that is, those divorced six months. This was undertaken at the end of May, 1979. Anticipating that it would take the entire month of June to contact these subjects, the listing contained the names, arrayed in chronological order, of those divorced during the entire month of December, 1978. Starting at the head of the list we proceeded to try to

contact the subjects, working through the list through the end of June. In this fashion, at the point when we contacted each subject, she was divorced almost precisely six months. The same procedure was in turn used with the other three groups.

We decided to start with Group II because we assumed that these women, having had six months to recover from the worst of the divorce experience, would not be as sensitive as those in Group I. Further, we expected that this group would not be as dispersed as Group III and Group IV, that is, fewer would have moved out of town, or relocated elsewhere within the city, or remarried. Our work subsequently indicated that the members in Group III and Group IV were indeed more dispersed as we had anticipated. Further, our first assumption seemed to be supported by our experiences during the summer when we moved on to contact Group I after Group II. We did find these most recently divorced women more suspicious of our work, somewhat impatient and in general more negative to our contacts. However, when we returned to Miami the following January to complete the data collection, we found no such difference between Group I and the other groups. We found this intriguing and searched for answers.

Possibly the following surmises have some validity. The weather in summertime in Miami is very demanding, especially on those who have to work. Possibly this, along with the

fact that these newly divorced mothers had their children at home underfoot during the summer vacation, took a heavy toll on their energy and patience at a time when they were rather vulnerable, having just been recently divorced. Secondly, it is quite possible that the researcher was much more adept at his job when he returned the following January and thus allayed their fears. Of course too, it could have been a self-fulfilling prophecy of expected greater difficulties. Thirdly, there was a unique event taking place in Miami that summer, and it was publicized daily in the media--the trial of Theodore Bundy, being tried for the murder of two sorority sisters at Florida State University, Tallahassee. It was evident that this trial had an effect on the community--or at least the females--because quite a number of our subjects when contacted by phone asked: "How can I know you are on the up and up, that you are not like Theodore Bundy?"

As soon as we traced a prospective subject on the phone we briefly introduced ourselves by saying who we were and what we were doing, and then she was invited to take part in the study. Typically, this gave rise to a pattern of defensive questions from the subjects such as follows:

"Well where are you from anyway?" "How did you get my name and telephone number--isn't this an invasion of privacy?" "Why are you doing this?" These and other recurring questions led us to develop a very well-honed introduction wherein we clearly stated the following.

1. Who we were and where we were from
2. What we were doing, and why we were doing it
3. How we found the name and telephone number
4. The information given would be anonymous and confidential
5. She would not be annoyed by an interviewer now nor later
6. It would take 30 to 60 minutes to complete the questionnaire
7. We would be most grateful if she would take part

This introduction was very carefully written out and assiduously revised until every superfluous word was eliminated because of its length. Thereafter, it was read to each subject in a conversational manner, until it was learned by heart.

We were amazed at the effectiveness of this introduction. It was listened to without any interruption, and it effectively eliminated all of the formerly recurring questions with one exception. We said we were making the survey in order to collect important information on divorce. This part of the statement proved inadequate, because the subjects tended to ask, "Don't we have all the information we need on divorce already?" And more insistently they asked, "What's in this for you?" We continued using the same line until one subject interrupted our grandiose pitch for science by saying, "Will you cut out the . . . and tell

me just why you are doing this?" Somewhat apologetically we said it was needed in order to get a Ph.D. degree. The reply came, "Of course I'll be glad to help you." From then on we gave that as the reason for the survey, and it elicited sympathetic responses.

Respondents who were slow or reluctant to take part were frequently won over when we told them that we had decided not to mail out the questionnaires without any prior contact or approval, as is usually the case. We pointed out that we decided to contact each person first, out of respect for the individual, and to get her consent before mailing the questionnaire.

It will be recalled that Spanish-speaking mothers were not included in this survey. During the process of contacting our subjects this researcher learned very rapidly how to recognize those who were to be excluded. Invariably the people who spoke only Spanish answered the phone with the Spanish greeting Oigo, or Dijame. Then we simply excused ourselves, saying we had made a mistake. Until that lesson was learned this investigator found himself in difficult and embarrassing situations as he tried to apologize and explain in broken Spanish.

Overwhelmingly, the respondents were most gracious and courteous when contacted for the first time, and the follow-up calls were rather like calls to friends. Further, we would guess that about half of them engaged in instant

intimacy over the phone, either pouring out their problems and views on marriage and divorce, or telling joyfully of their new lives and accomplishments.

This researcher feels a deep debt of gratitude to these mothers not only because of their participation and cooperation in the survey, but also because of their striking courtesy and kindness during our contacts with them.

Summary

Our research population was English-speaking, divorced mothers in the Miami-Dade metropolitan area. Drawing from courthouse records, we used a stratified sample to create four cohorts of respondents, in order to trace the incidence, intensity, duration, and resolution of the divorce trauma during the all-important two years following divorce.

The data were collected in the summer of 1979 and in January and February of 1980. Prepared questionnaires were mailed out to subjects who had already been traced by phone and who had given prior consent. Our data consisted of completed questionnaires from 203 respondents, and each response set contained 207 variables. The response rate was 67.89 per cent of those who had consented to take part.

Both descriptive and inferential statistics were used in analyzing the data. The statistical procedures were

performed on the computer facilities at the University of Florida, Gainesville. Our field experiences, while prolonged and arduous, and sometimes frustrating, were overwhelmingly gratifying. A debt of gratitude is owed to the respondents--and in many cases to their ex-husbands too.

CHAPTER IV
BACKGROUND AND SELECTED MARITAL VARIABLES OF RESPONDENTS

Introduction

This chapter first presents descriptive details of the background variables of the respondents, such as age, country of birth, length of residence in the United States, race, religion, and level of education. This will be followed by similar information on certain marital variables such as age at marriage, age at divorce, length of marriage and the number of divorces obtained.

Background Variables

Age

The sample studied in this survey consisted of 203 divorced mothers who returned completed usable questionnaires. At the time of the data collection, these mothers ranged in age from 22 to 62 years, with an average of 38 years.

Race and Country of Birth

As expected, the majority of the respondents were white: 89.60 per cent identified themselves as such, and 9.90 per cent were black, while the remaining 0.50 per cent

designated themselves as "other." Most of the respondents, 80.30 per cent, were born in the United States, followed next by 11.33 per cent born in Cuba, while the remaining 8.37 per cent were born in other foreign countries. The figures on the country of origin of the ex-husbands are almost the same, as can be seen in Table 1. The length of time that the foreign-born respondents had been in the United States ranged from 3 to 35 years, with the mean being 15 years.

TABLE 1

Country of Origin of Ex-Spouses

Country of birth	Respondents		Ex-Husbands	
	N	per cent	N	per cent
United States	163	80.30	161	79.70
Cuba	23	11.33	27	13.37
Other	17	8.37	14	6.93
Totals	203	100.00	202	100.00

Of the United States-born respondents, 92.02 per cent married United States-born men, while 78.26 per cent of the Cuban-born respondents married Cuban men, and 41.18 per cent of the other foreign-born respondents married other foreign-born men. Consequently, homogamy by reason of country of birth was highest among the United States-born, followed next by the Cuban-born.

Religion

The vast majority of the respondents belonged to one of the three major religious denominations in our country. The largest proportion, 41.12 per cent identified themselves as Protestants, 25.38 per cent, Catholics, followed closely by 19.29 per cent Jewish, and lastly 1.02 per cent belonged to other denominations. The remaining 13.20 per cent stated that they belonged to no church at all. However, we do not know whether this last group held any religious beliefs, which are quite distinct from church affiliation.

Table 2 reveals that a much lower proportion of the ex-husbands than of the respondents were listed as Protestants: 28.08 per cent compared with 41.12 per cent of the ex-wives. While the proportions remain practically the same for the Catholics and Jews, a comparatively high 31.03 per cent of the males had no religious affiliation compared with 13.20 per cent of the females. This coincides with findings in general that more women than men tend to be affiliated with churches.

Homogamy on the basis of religion was highest among the Jewish respondents, 92.11 per cent of whom had been married to Jewish men. Next, 69.23 per cent of the respondents who had no church affiliation had been married to similar men, and 60.00 per cent of the Catholic respondents had been married to Catholic men, and lastly, 51.85 per cent of the Protestant mothers had been married to Protestant men.

TABLE 2

Religious Affiliation of Ex-Spouses

Religion	Respondents		Ex-Husbands		Both Ex-Spouses	
	N	per cent	N	per cent	N	per cent
Protestant	81	41.12	57	28.08	42	51.85
Catholic	50	25.38	42	20.69	30	60.00
Jewish	38	19.29	41	20.20	35	92.11
Other	2	1.02	0	--	0	--
None	26	13.20	63	31.03	18	69.23[1]
Totals	197	100.01[2]	203	100.00	125	

[1]column non-additive
[2]not 100 per cent because of rounding

These data reflect the religious situation only at the end of the marriages, consequently we do not know what the situation was initially at the beginning of the marriages, nor who changed or dropped church affiliation during the marriages.

Education

As Table 3 indicates, there is a remarkable similarity between the level of education of the respondents and their ex-husbands, in the aggregate. The only deviation that merits mention is the fact that while not quite 1.00 per cent of the respondents completed only grade school, 3.50 per cent of the ex-husbands are in that category. We can only speculate that perhaps this resulted from a higher drop-out rate among males, or the availability of more jobs for males with this level of education.

TABLE 3

Education of Respondents and Their Ex-Husbands

Level of Education	Respondents		Ex-Husbands	
	N	per cent	N	per cent
No formal education	3	1.49	3	1.50
Grade school	2	0.99	7	3.50
High school	44	21.78	43	21.50
Some college	69	34.16	66	33.00
College graduate	48	23.76	49	24.50
Grad. school/post-grad. professional training	36	17.82	32	16.00
Totals	202	100.00	200	100.00

Homogamy on the basis of education is relatively low, hovering at approximately one-third in each of the categories, with the sole exception of grade school where there is zero homogamy. This low educational homogamy is congruent with findings in other studies.

It is quite remarkable that 41.58 per cent of the respondents, and 40.50 per cent of their ex-husbands attained a college, graduate or professional degree. This is a higher proportion than that found in the population at large, indicating that our sample was not proportionately representative of the entire population.

Work During Marriage and Now

All but 8.37 per cent of the respondents (N=17) reported working in a job or profession while they were married. Half of them, or precisely 50.74 per cent, worked full-time,

17.24 per cent worked part-time, and the remaining 23.65 per cent reported working on and off.

Regarding their ex-husbands' working records, 88.12 per cent of the respondents reported that their ex-husbands always had jobs. Of the remainder, 4.46 per cent (N=9) reported that their ex-spouses experienced frequent layoffs, and the remaining 7.43 per cent (N=15) complained that their ex-husbands worked only occasionally.

By the time of the data collection, the overall picture of the respondents working outside the home had changed dramatically. Whereas only 50.74 per cent reported working full-time during marriage, an impressive 79.10 per cent did so at the time of the survey. Working part-time, by comparison, declined from 17.24 per cent to 8.96 per cent. A mere 0.50 per cent (N=1) was working on and off, compared with almost 25.00 per cent during marriage. Somewhat surprisingly, 11.44 per cent (N=23) reported holding no job at the time of the survey, compared with 8.37 per cent (N=17) during marriage.

This last finding led us to surmise that those who were not working outside the home at the time of the survey were remarried. However, when we tested this hypothesis we found that of the 27 remarried respondents, 88.89 per cent of them (N=24) were working full-time, and only the remaining 11.44 per cent (N=3) were not working outside the home at the time of the survey. Consequently we did not find support

for the hypothesis. The data on the respondents working during marriage and at the time of the survey are presented in Table 4. The additional data in that table show that 85.44 per cent of those who worked full-time during marriage were still working full-time when we contacted them. In contrast, only 14.29 per cent of those who had worked part-time and 26.67 per cent of those who had not worked during the marriages reported the same working situations at the time of the survey.

TABLE 4

Employment of Respondents During Marriage and Now

Employment	During Marriage		Now		Then and Now	
	N	per cent	N	per cent	N	per cent
Full-time	103	50.74	159	79.10	88	85.44
Part-time	35	17.24	18	8.96	5	14.29
On and off	48	23.65	1	0.50	0	--
None	17	8.37	23	11.44	4	26.67[1]
Totals	203	100.00	201	100.00	97	

[1]column non-additive

The economic exigencies of divorced women are clearly evident when we compare the working record during their marriages with that following divorce. Most clearly indicative is the fact that four-fifths of them were working full-time when we contacted them, compared with only half of them having worked full-time while married.

Type of Employment During Marriage and Now

When the respondents were asked to specify what job they held during their marriages, for reasons unknown to the investigator almost half of them declined to answer. Of the 103 women who did give a response to this question, 4.76 per cent specified that they were housewives, and exactly the same percentage reported that they worked in service jobs, such as stewardesses, nursing aides, and the like. A slighty larger proportion, 6.67 per cent, were operatives. The highest proportion of all, 40.95 per cent, were employed in clerical positions, with an additional 15.24 per cent employed in sales. In spite of the fact that 41.58 per cent of the respondents had either a college, graduate or professional degree, as already noted, a mere 27.62 per cent were employed as professionals. This is in sharp contrast with the fact that 67.38 per cent of the ex-husbands held managerial and professional positions. This probably resulted from the institutional sexism that is rampant in the marketplace. These data are found in Table 5.

In that table it is easy to see that homogamy on the basis of employment was very low. Of course no homogamy at all could be found in the categories with zero data in any of the columns: housewife, retired, craftsmen, and managerial. Among the remaining categories, homogamy was highest in service, standing at 60.00 per cent. Next came operatives with 50.00 per cent homogamy and then

TABLE 5

Type of Employment of Ex-Spouses During Marriage

Type of work	Respondents		Ex-Husbands		Both Ex-Spouses	
	N	per cent	N	per cent	N	per cent
Housewife	5	4.76	0	--	0	--
Retired	0	--	2	1.07	0	--
Service	5	4.76	10	5.35	3	60.00
Operatives	7	6.67	26	13.90	3	50.00
Craftsmen	0	--	21	11.23	0	--
Clerical	43	40.95	2	1.07	2	5.26
Sales	16	15.24	0	--	0	--
Managerial	0	--	61	32.62	0	--
Professional	29	27.62	65	34.76	12	41.38[1]
Totals	105	100.00	187	100.000	20	

[1]column non-additive

professionals with 41.38 per cent. The least homogamy was found in the clerical category, standing at only 5.26 per cent. This was the inevitable result of 40.95 per cent of the females being employed in clerical work, compared with only 1.07 per cent of the males being likewise employed.

Table 6 presents data on the types of jobs held by the respondents during their marriages and at the time of the survey. The data present a mixed picture. Following the divorces there was an increase in the proportions working in service, supervisory and sales positions, but there was a decrease in domestic, operative, clerical and professional positions.

A close analysis of those who identified their work during marriage and at the time of the survey reveals a

TABLE 6

Type of Employment During Marriage and Now

Type of Work	During Marriage		Now	
	N	per cent	N	per cent
Housewife	5	4.76	2	1.47
Service	5	4.76	11	8.09
Operative	7	6.67	4	2.94
Supervisor	0	--	3	2.21
Clerical	43	40.95	52	38.24
Sales	16	15.24	30	22.06
Professionals	29	27.62	34	25.00
Totals	105	100.00	136	100.01[1]

[1] not 100 per cent because of rounding

similarly mixed picture. The five respondents who worked in clerical positions while married were still there when we contacted them. Of the seven who had been operatives, two had moved up to sales (the remaining five did not identify their work at the time of the survey). Of the 43 who had been in clerical positions, 9.30 per cent (N=4) moved up to professional, but a similar percentage moved down to service, while 72.09 per cent (N=31) remained as they were (the remaining 9.30 per cent did not identify their work at the time of the survey). Of the 16 who had been in sales, 87.50 per cent (N=14) were still there, and the remaining 12.50 per cent (N=2) had moved into professional positions. Lastly, of the 29 who had been professionals, 48.28 per cent (N=14) were still working as professionals, but 13.79 per cent (N=4) had moved down to sales, and the same proportion

had moved down further to clerical positions. (The remaining 24.14 per cent [N=7] did not identify their current positions).

A comparison of the respondents' average take-home pay shows only a slight increase, which is probably best explained in terms of the passage of time, along with the fact that those working full-time grew from 50.74 per cent to 79.10 per cent. At the end of the marriages, the average weekly take-home pay was $180.00 compared with $200.00 at the time of the data collection.

Marital Variables

This section will present data on the number of times that respondents had been married and divorced, their ages at marriage and at divorce, the length of time that the marriages lasted, and how many lived together before getting married.

Times Divorced

Of the 203 respondents, 148 of them had been divorced once, 45 twice, 7 three times, and one had been through five divorces (two respondents gave no answer). Stating the same in percentages, 73.63 per cent had received one divorce, 22.39 per cent two divorces, 3.48 per cent three divorces, and 0.50 per cent had been divorced five times.

Lived Together

Fifty of the respondents, 24.63 per cent of the total, reported that they and their ex-husbands had lived together before getting married. The length of time that they lived together ranged from one month to ten years, with the average being one year.

When this phenomenon of living together before marriage was examined on the basis of the number of times divorced, we found a positive correlation. Of those divorced once, only 15.54 per cent lived together, compared with 48.89 per cent of those divorced twice, and 62.50 per cent of those divorced three times or more. These data are presented in Table 7.

TABLE 7

Times Divorced and Cohabitation

Times Divorced	Divorcees		Lived Together	
	N	per cent	N	per cent
Once	148	73.63	23	15.54
Twice	45	22.39	22	48.89
More than twice	8	3.98	5	62.50[1]
Totals	201	100.00	50	

[1]column non-additive

Age at Marriage

At the time of entering their last marriages (for 73.63 per cent of the respondents [N=148] their first marriages were also their last marriages to date) the respondents ranged in age from 14 to 50 years old, with an average of 24 years. Their ex-husbands at that same point ranged in age from 16 to 82 years old, with an average of 27 years, making them three years older, on the average, than their ex-wives.

When we examine the 148 respondents who had been married and divorced only once, we find that they ranged in age from 14 to 35 years old, with an average of 21 years. This average is three years less than the average of all the respondents as a whole.

Age at Divorce and Length of Marriage

At the time of their last divorces, the respondents ranged in age from 21 to 60 years, with an average age of 37 years. The length of the respondents' last marriages ranged from less than one year to 40 years, with the average length being 13 years.

Summary

The ages of respondents ranged from 22 to 62 years old, indicating that divorce occurs in every stage of the family life cycle. Nine-tenths of the respondents were white, and practically all of the rest were black. Four-fifths of the

women surveyed were born in the United States. The foreign-born had been in the U.S. an average of 15 years. Protestants, Catholics, and Jews were strongly represented in the sample. In general, the respondents and their ex-spouses had high levels of formal education. Practically all of the respondents reported working during their marriages, with half of them working full-time. After the divorce a dramatic change took place. By the time the survey was made four-fifths of them were working full-time. Comparison of the data on the type of employment and income before and after divorce indicates that the respondents experienced downward mobility following their divorces.

Practically three-quarters of the respondents had been divorced once, while most of the others had been divorced twice. Their ages at marriage ranged from 14 to 50 years, with an average age of 24 years. The marriages lasted from 1 to 40 years, with an average length of 13 years.

CHAPTER V
THE ANTECEDENTS AND CAUSES OF DIVORCE

Introduction

This chapter has two main parts. In the first part, we will describe and examine the antecedents of divorce. Here information will be presented on such matters as proposing divorce and insisting on carrying it through, counseling and discussions prior to divorce, as well as the incidence and type of force and violence in marriage.

The second part of the chapter will deal with the causes of divorce. Here a distinction will be made between personal causes and societal causes of divorce. The personal causes given by the respondents will be examined in detail, leading to an index of the seriousness of individual causes. This will be followed by an examination of the most serious problems or difficulties encountered in marriage.

The Antecedents of Divorce

Who Suggested Divorce?

The literature indicates that in the majority of cases, it is the wife who suggests divorce. This does not mean that more wives than husbands are first to want a divorce. On the contrary, it would seem that the reverse is the case.

However, quite often the husband, even though he wants a divorce, for reasons of his own, refrains from suggesting divorce. Instead, he makes himself so obnoxious that the wife begins to think of divorce as a way out, and eventually she reaches the point where she suggests getting a divorce (Goode, 1956:133-135; Leslie, 1982:570).

The data in this survey support that hypothesis. In almost two-thirds of the cases, 64.00 per cent precisely, it was the respondent who first suggested the divorce. In addition, in 8.00 per cent of the cases the suggestion was mutual, a situation which might well have been engineered by the husband. Only in 28.00 per cent of the cases was it the husband alone who suggested the divorce.

Who Insisted on Divorce?

Later on, after the initial suggestion had been made, an interesting shift took place as far as insisting that they follow through was concerned. This can be seen in Table 8.

Just 54.85 per cent of the respondents alone insisted on the divorce--a nine percentage point drop from those who first suggested divorce. At the same time there was a similar nine percentage point increase in those who mutually insisted on the follow through, over those who mutually made the initial suggestion. The proportion of husbands alone insisting on divorce remains practically identical with those first suggesting it. It seems reasonable to suggest

TABLE 8

Who First Suggested and Later Insisted on Divorce

Spouse	Suggested	Insisted	Change
		per cent	
Wife alone	64.00	54.95	-9.05
Husband alone	28.00	27.72	-0.28
Husband and Wife	8.00	17.33	+9.33[1]
Totals	100.00	100.00	

[1]column non-additive

that in 9.00 per cent of the cases the husbands used their strategy to force the wives to suggest what they themselves wanted to begin with, and then, after the ice had been broken by the wives suggesting divorce, they gladly cooperated with the wives in insisting that they not abandon their resolve.

Serious Consideration of Divorce

The respondents were asked how long it was from the point when they first seriously considered divorce until they actually filed for it. The responses reflected a great variety of situations. Some filed within a month of first seriously thinking of divorce, while others seriously considered divorce for more than 10 years before actually filing. The average length of time spent in serious consideration was one year and nine months.

Marriage Counseling

It could be argued that those who did not seek any help in the form of counseling were not too eager to preserve their marriages, whereas those who did seek and receive counseling made a *bona fide* effort at salvaging the relationship. Be that as it may, the data indicate that less than half, 45.77 per cent, sought help in some form of counseling, but the remaining 54.23 per cent did not.

Of those who did seek help, the highest proportion, 32.97 per cent, attended marriage clinics of different types. Next, 25.28 per cent sought help from their pastors or rabbis, and 16,48 percent went to social workers. The remaining 25.27 per cent tried for help from other sources that remained unspecified by the respondents.

Final Separation

According to the general way of thinking, separation precedes divorce. The data indicate that such was indeed the case in 92.08 per cent of the cases. However, different couples separated at different stages in the divorce cycle. Just over one-quarter of the respondents, 26.24 per cent, separated before any real decision to get a divorce was made. The largest proportion, 41.58 per cent separated after the decision to divorce was made, but before filing for divorce. Next, 24.26 per cent separated after the divorce papers were filed. Separation did not take place

till after the divorce in 6.44 per cent of the cases. The remaining 1.49 per cent never separated at all. These were couples who simply got a legal divorce to avoid the marriage tax penalty mentioned earlier in this study, or to receive social security benefits. These data are presented in Table 9.

TABLE 9

Time of Final Separation

Time	N	per cent
Before decision to get divorced	53	26.24
Before filing for divorce	84	41.58
Before the divorce	49	24.26
After the divorce	13	6.44
Never	3	1.49
Totals	202	100.01[1]

[1]not 100 per cent because of rounding

It is to be expected that the decision to end one's marriage by divorce may not be an easy one to make, and once made, probably second thoughts occur. The data indicate that some, but not as many as might be expected, had second thoughts. Indeed, almost half of the respondents, 45.26 per cent, stated that they never had any second thoughts at all, and an additional 35.79 per cent said that they changed their minds only rarely. Only the remaining 18.95 per cent said that they reversed their decision many times.

Consequently, it would seem that slightly over four-fifths of the respondents had no serious difficulty with their decisions once they were made. We can only speculate that so many remained adamant or unwavering in their decisions because of already very bad situations, or because the relationships deteriorated significantly once the decision had been made.

Divorce Discussions

After deciding on divorce, one would expect the parties to have many details to discuss. Actually 32.02 per cent said that many such discussions took place. An additional 54.19 per cent said that they had just a few such discussions, and the remaining 13.79 per cent said they had none at all. This would seem to indicate that deep and widespread alienation and a breakdown in constructive communication between the spouses had already taken place in many cases before they reached the point where they finally decided on divorce, or else the announcement of the decision caused immediate and effective alienation.

The one item that was most widely discussed by the divorcing parties was the question of money in the form of alimony and child support. These were reported as the main items of discussion by 18.18 per cent of the respondents. There was a tie between the question of the children and the division of property for the third most widely discussed

topic. Each of these was reported by 15.76 per cent. The question of seeing each other after the divorce was discussed only by 4.85 per cent, and a mere 1.21 per cent discussed remarriage. The remaining 44.24 per cent reported that they discussed various combinations of the above mentioned topics.

It is clear that economic questions predominated in the discussions, followed next by concern for the children. Further, it would seem that the future of the relationship between the divorcing parties was a closed case for all but a tiny minority of less than 5.00 per cent.

Agreements

Almost three-quarters of the respondents, 73.53 per cent, reported that they and their husbands were able to reach a general agreement on the matters discussed. Regrettably the data do not indicate whether they achieved this agreement by themselves, or had to have aid from others such as counselors and attorneys.

Next the respondents were asked two very similar questions. (1) Did your ex-husband live up to these agreements? (2) Did you live up to these agreements? The responses to these two questions possibly furnish us with an insight into the ongoing relationships between the ex-spouses rather than with objective information on the outcome of the agreements. Or, the agreements may have been

so one-sided that the ex-wives did not have to do anything. This last situation would be verified when the ex-husbands were enjoined to pay alimony and/or child support. Practically nine-tenths of the respondents, 89.94 per cent, reported that they had lived up to all of the agreements. By contrast, only 48.75 per cent of them perceived their ex-husbands as having similarly done so. It is probable that these divorced mothers, living through a rather difficult life experience, perceived themselves as doing yeoman duty in a bad situation primarily caused by their ex-husbands.

Approval of the Marriage

While marriage in our culture is an institution binding husband and wife together in a close, exclusive bond, it also has social dimensions. Marriage does not exist in a vacuum isolated from the rest of society. Of special importance are the significant others of the husband and wife. It is to be expected that those marriages that have the approval and support from the spouses' parents, friends, and co-workers would have a higher survival rate than those lacking these supports. This social aspect of marriage was investigated in this survey.

Less than half of the women, 43.02 per cent, reported that their ex-husbands' families approved of and supported their marriages. The remaining 56.97 per cent reported disapproval. By contrast, support and approval from the

respondents' own families were present in the majority of cases, being reported by 64.02 per cent. Only 35.98 per cent reported disapproval. These data are presented in Table 10

TABLE 10

Approval and Disapproval of the Marriages

Group	Approval			Disapproval		
	per cent			per cent		
	Strong	Weak	Total	Weak	Strong	Total
Ex-Husband's family	9.88	33.14	43.02	36.62	20.35	56.97
Respondent's family	28.57	35.45	64.02	26.98	9.00	35.98
Ex-husband's friends	12.42	39.22	51.63	37.26	11.11	48.37
Respondent's friends	31.25	41.67	72.92	20.83	6.25	27.08
Respondent's pastor	18.18	33.77	51.95	31.17	16.88	48.05
Co-workers	29.32[1]	46.62	75.94	15.79	8.27	24.06

[1]all columns are non-additive

When these data are broken down further and when we look at the strong approval and disapproval figures, the contrast becomes greater. Only 9.88 per cent of the respondents reported strong approval from their ex-husbands' families, whereas 28.57 per cent reported similar strong approval from their own families. Then, turning to the strong disapproval data, we find 20.35 per cent reported strong disapproval from their ex-husbands' families, and a mere 9.00 per cent experienced similar strong disapproval from their own families.

A similar picture emerges when we examine the data on friends' approval. Just over half of the respondents, 51.63 per cent, reported approval from the ex-husbands' friends, whereas 72.92 per cent reported approval from their own friends. Looking at the data on strong approval, only 12.42 per cent of the ex-husbands' friends gave strong approval, compared with 31.25 per cent of the respondents' own friends.

The data on the pastors' approval indicate practically an even split, in all the categories, between approval and disapproval. However, when we examine those of the respondents' co-workers we find approval reported by a three-to-one majority of 75.94 per cent of the respondents. Among the 24.06 per cent who disapproved, only 8.27 per cent expressed strong disapproval.

In summary, a majority reported approval and support of their marriages from their own families, friends and co-workers, but disapproval from the ex-husbands' families. These attitudes may be explained, in part, by the mating gradient, whereby women tend, to some extent, to marry men of higher SES than themselves. When that is the case, the woman "makes a good catch," winning approval from her own family, friends and co-workers. By contrast, the man is marrying down, a situation unlikely to win approval from his family.

Force and Violence in the Family

As earlier noted in this study, violence has been found to be an all too common phenomenon in the American family, between the spouses themselves, between parents and their children, and among the children themselves. This survey probed the problem of violence between the spouses themselves.

Slightly over two-fifths of the respondents, 42.29 per cent, reported suffering violence from their ex-husbands. More than one-tenth of them, 11.94 per cent, reported suffering frequent violence, and an additional 30.35 per cent suffered occasional violence. The remaining 57.71 per cent said that they had never been subjected to violence by their ex-husbands. These data are presented on Table 11.

TABLE 11

Incidence of Violence Between Spouses

Incidence	N	per cent
Frequent violence	24	11.94
Occasional violence	61	30.35
No violence reported	116	57.71
Totals	201	100.00

When probed as to the type of violence that they had undergone, the respondents reported as follows. The largest proportion, 42.50 per cent were subjected to slappings,

beatings, and punching. Next, 21.25 per cent reported being thrown around and knocked down, and 2.50 per cent were menaced with a club, knife or gun. Another 2.50 per cent reported other forms of violence not already specified, and lastly 31.25 per cent reported that they had suffered different combinations of the above-mentioned forms of violence. These data are presented in Table 12.

TABLE 12

Type of Violence Between Spouses

Type	N	per cent
Slapping, beating and punching	34	42.50
Thrown around and knocked down	17	21.25
Club, knife or gun used	2	2.50
Other	2	2.50
Combinations of the above	25	31.25
Totals	80	100.00

A serious possible outcome of violence is physical injury, and 60.49 per cent of those wives who reported violence did suffer physical injury. The physical injury was characterized as bruises, black eyes and split lips by 52.08 per cent, and the remaining 47 per cent reported more serious outcomes such as broken noses and fingers as well as cuts and gashes, necessitating treatment and sometimes even hospitalization.

When asked if they had ever physically hurt their ex-husbands, only 10.47 per cent of the respondents (N=20) said that they had, but only rarely. While in no way questioning the subjective accuracy of this information, one is left wondering if a similar picture would emerge from a survey of the ex-husbands. Possibly not. However, even if they were to report more widespread physical hurt from their wives, it would be possible to resolve the discrepancies by assuming that most husbands would effectively hide from their wives the humiliation of being hurt by them.

In those instances where the wives did physically hurt their husbands, 70.00 per cent (N=14) did so in self-defense, and the remaining 30.00 per cent (N=6) had other good reasons which they left unspecified.

Violence between spouses sometimes is associated with sex. For this reason and others too, the respondents were asked: Did your ex-husband ever force you to have sex with him? While close to three-quarters of the respondents, 72.68 per cent, said that such never took place, 20.10 per cent (N=39) said yes, occasionally, and an additional 7.22 per cent (N=14) stated that it happened frequently.

In summary, we can see that frequent violence, both physical and sexual, occurred between the spouses in about one-tenth of these disrupted families. An additional 30.35 per cent reported occasional physical violence, as well as a further 20.10 per cent reporting occasional sexual violence.

This grim picture of marital discord is very much at odds with the idealistic promise of the romantic love complex, which is the foundation of marriage in our country. For those couples who engaged in violence, the gap between the promise and the performance is tragic.

The Causes of Divorce

In the continuing effort to understand and learn more about divorce, its causes have been examined and scrutinized. This exercise can carry with it the dream (probably misguided) that if the causes are identified and then controlled or eliminated, reduced divorce rates would ensue.

Personal Causes of Divorce

It is important to distinguish between the personal causes of divorce experienced in a unique individual way by every divorcing couple, and the societal causes that impinge on all or most couples, even though they may be unaware of them. Examples of societal causes might be the absence of strong societal supports for the institution of marriage, the absence of effective safeguards surrounding marital fidelity, or the presence and promotion of values and practices contrary to fidelity, the high geographic and socioeconomic mobility of a postindustrial society, and the very existence of a high divorce rate.

The personal causes of divorce, by contrast, are unique to each individual divorce that takes place and are perceived by one or other of the parties, or by both of them together. If a particular cause is perceived by only one party then it is an individual personal cause; if it is perceived by both it is a shared personal cause. Further, both of these may be either manifest or latent, giving us manifest/latent individual personal causes, and manifest/latent shared personal causes. These are presented diagramatically in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Personal Causes of Divorce

An example will illustrate. First let's say a husband gets a divorce because he is homosexual, a situation he successfully hides even from his wife. His homosexuality would be a latent personal cause of divorce. Now let's suppose another case of a homosexual husband, but here the wife knows about it, and together they agree to divorce on account of it. Here the homosexuality is a shared personal cause. Next, let's suppose this couple, fearing that their

parents and friends would be critical if they knew of the homosexuality, decides to hide it and say that they just don't love each other any more, then the homosexuality would be a latent shared personal cause, and the "no love" would be a manifest shared personal cause, which in this case is not a real cause, but merely a given or fabricated cause.

This survey endeavored to investigate the personal causes, both individual and shared, perceived by the divorced mothers who took part. It is hoped that the causes they identified were not mere fabricated manifest causes, but the real causes as they perceived them. There are good grounds to believe that the real reasons were given, since anonymity and confidentiality were assured, and there was no personal, face-to-face interviewing which could cause embarrassment and lead to some fabrication and dissimulation.

The Main Causes of Divorce

It is a misguided undertaking to seek a monocausal explanation of human phenomena because of the complexity of both the human person and human social interaction. For this reason, special care was taken not to approach this complex question of the causes of divorce as journalists and interviewers apparently love to tackle their subjects. Barbara Walters was not above asking President Sadat: "Mr President, in one word, what is the solution to the Middle-

East crisis?" A similar error would be to pose the question: "Now, you know what happened, so tell me in one word why did your marriage break up?" For the most part, just as couples are drawn together by a whole complex of reasons to marry each other, so too we can expect a complex of causes leading couples to divorce.

That does not mean that all of the reasons or causes are equally strong and important. A ranking or hierarchy of reasons can be expected, with one, two or three standing out quite prominantly. With all of this in mind, the question was posed: "What, to your mind, were the main causes of your divorce?" This question was followed by a listing of 14 items as possible causes contributing to divorce. The respondent was directed to check yes or no by each item. At the end of the list the respondent was invited to list in the space provided, any other reasons that applied in her case. Then, she was directed to go back over the entire list and to indicate the three most important reasons for her divorce, by numbering them 1, 2, and 3. Even though we were interested only in the most important cause alone, it was decided to ask for all three, in ranked order, in the belief that this would ensure careful weighing of the causes and a more accurate identification of the most important one, than if we asked them simply to identify the most important cause alone.

Five different responses to each item were possible as follows. (1) The most important cause. (2) The second most important cause. (3) The third most important cause. (4) Yes, this was a cause in my case. (5) No, this was not a cause in my case. The question and the 14 items were listed as follows. For the sake of ease and clarity, after each item we have inserted in brackets the corresponding descriptive term used later in the text and tables.

What, to your mind, were the main causes of your divorce? My husband:

1. failed to support us [no support]
2. drank too much [excessive drinking]
3. neglected us and never stayed home [neglect]
4. spent all our money e.g. on gambling, etc. [gambling]
5. was always running around with the boys [the boys]
6. was bossy, impossible and overbearing [bossiness]
7. was running around with other women [infidelity]
8. fell in love with another woman [triangle]
9. ran off with another woman [desertion]
10. was always blaming me for everything [blame]
11. we could never see eye to eye and get along [disagreements]
12. trouble with in-laws [in-laws]
13. I wanted to continue/resume my education [further education]
14. I wanted to carve out a career for myself [career]

15. other (specify)_____

Table 13 presents the results of the first part of the question, that is, the percentage of respondents who identified each of the listed items as the main causes of divorce. The items are listed in ranked order of frequency, ranging from disagreements, reported by 68.57 per cent, down to desertion, checked by 18.92 per cent. The sum of the main causes checked is 789, indicating that on the average each respondent checked or identified three or four main causes.

TABLE 13

The Main Causes of Divorce in Ranked Order

Causes	N	per cent
1. Disagreements	120	68.57
2. Blame	87	51.48
3. Infidelity	79	47.59
4. Bossiness	74	45.40
5. Neglect	68	40.48
6. Excessive drinking	52	32.70
7. Triangle	50	32.05
8. No support	45	28.13
9. The Boys	42	26.42
10. Career	37	25.00
11. Further education	35	24.14
12. In-laws	37	24.03
13. Gambling	35	23.18
14. Desertion	28	18.92[1]
Total	789	

[1] column non-additive

In perusing the table, it is important to be aware of the exact meaning of the three variables, infidelity, triangle, and desertion. All three refer to extramarital relationships, and take into account the different degrees in such relationships. Infidelity means "running around with other women." Here no one woman is the object of the illicit desires. Triangle means that the man "fell in love with another woman." Here there is an individual woman who has won the husband's heart, alienating his affections from his wife. Desertion means he "ran off with another woman." Here she won more than his heart. It is crucial to remember that desertion is used in this narrow, specialized sense, which is quite different from the general meaning it has in sociology of the family. These three variables also represent a progression in such extramarital relationships from "playing the field" (infidelity) through "falling in love" with an individual woman (triangle) to abandoning wife and family for such a woman (desertion).

A glance at the table reveals that these extramarital relationships in their "milder" form are widely reported (infidelity, 47.59 per cent), and the "extreme" form is found at the very bottom of the list (desertion, 18.95 per cent), while the "moderate" form falls almost in the center between the two extremes (triangle, 32.05 per cent).

The one other variable which needs explanation at this point is The Boys. This was stated in the questionnaire as

follows: My husband was always running around with the boys. In general, this variable means same-sex relationships during marriage. A wide range of meaning was given to this variable by the respondents as is well illustrated by two extreme examples. One respondent made the notation that she meant by it that she left her husband when she discovered that he was homosexual. Another indicated that she left and got a divorce because she "couldn't take him and his damned CB anymore."

Explanations will be deferred until a later section which will present an index of the relative seriousness of the causes of divorce, where each will be dealt with fully.

The Most Important Causes of Divorce

Table 14 presents the results of the second part of the question where the respondent was asked to identify the most important cause of the divorce. Again the results are presented in ranked order, ranging from bossiness which was identified as the most important cause by 12.88 per cent (N=21), down to the boys, which was the most important cause in only 0.63 per cent of the cases (N=1). The number in parentheses after each variable indicates its ranking among the main causes of divorce in Table 13. This is followed by a number in brackets which indicates the amount of "dislocation" of each variable from the position it held in the previous table. A positive sign before the bracketed

number indicates an upward dislocation and a negative sign a downward movement.

TABLE 14

The Most Important Causes of Divorce in Ranked Order

Causes			N	per cent
1. Bossiness	(4)	[+3]	21	12.88
2. Triangle	(7)	[+5]	17	10.90
3. Disagreements	(1)	[-2]	15	8.57
4. Infidelity	(3)	[-1]	14	8.43
5. Neglect	(5)	[0]	13	7.74
6. Excessive drinking	(6)	[0]	10	6.29
7. No support	(8)	[+1]	9	5.63
8. Desertion	(14)	[+6]	8	4.51
9. Blame	(2)	[-7]	7	4.14
10. Career	(10)	[0]	4	2.70
11. In-laws	(12)	[+1]	4	2.70
12. Further education	(11)	[-1]	3	2.07
13. Gambling	(13)	[0]	3	1.99
14. The Boys	(9)	[-5]	1	0.63[1]
Total			129	

[1] column non-additive

The greatest dislocation (downward) is found in the variable, blame, which dropped from second place to ninth, resulting from the fact that relatively few identified it as the most important cause, even though it was the second most widely listed among the main causes. The second greatest dislocation (upward) is found in the variable, desertion, which moved up from last place to eighth position. This means that this cause was of rather rare occurrence, but when it did occur, it was likely to be the most important cause of the divorce.

Next is triangle, which moved up from seventh place to second. This cause was moderately widespread, and when it occurred it was likely to be the main cause. In contrast, the variable, the boys, dropped from ninth place to fourteenth. Even though this was moderately widespread among the main causes of divorce, only once was it identified as the most important cause. The remaining variables underwent little or no dislocation, meaning that their original incidence was equally matched with their importance.

We will now move on to the next section where the data of the two previous tables will be combined by using a simple mathematical formula, and presented in the easily understandable format of an index.

Index of Seriousness of Causes of Divorce

By combining the data in Table 13 and Table 14 we can establish an index of the relative seriousness of the causes of divorce based on both the frequency and importance of each. An example will serve to explain the index. Disagreements as a cause of divorce was reported by 68.57 percent of the respondents. That same variable or cause was listed as the most important cause by 8.57 per cent of the respondents. The product of these two percentages gives an index value of 587.64. The corresponding percentages on gambling are 23.18 and 1.99, the product of which gives an

index value of only 46.13. This was done with all 14 items and the results are presented in ranked order in Table 15.

TABLE 15

Index of Seriousness of Causes of Divorce

Variable	Index Value
1. Disagreements	587.64
2. Bossiness	584.75
3. Infidelity	401.18
4. Triangle	339.73
5. Neglect	313.32
6. Blame	213.13
7. Excessive drinking	205.68
8. No support	158.37
9. Desertion	102.36
10. Career	67.50
11. In-laws	62.48
12. Further education	49.97
13. Gambling	46.13
14. The boys	16.64[1]

[1]column non-additive

According to our index, the most serious cause of divorce, based on a combination of how widespread and important it is, is disagreements. This was expressed in the questionnaire as follows: "My husband and I could never see eye to eye and get along." Probably this inability to understand and agree gave rise to continuous arguments and quarrels, and possibly, eventually ended all constructive communication between the spouses. We are careful to use the term "constructive communication" to distinguish it from destructive or negative communication, because even when

spouses cease to speak to each other they continue powerfully destructive communication through body language (Birdwhistell, 1970).

According to the index, the second most serious cause of divorce is Bossiness. This was stated in the questionnaire as follows: "My husband was bossy, impossible and overbearing." We can only speculate that this difficlulty arose in part, from different role expectations between the two spouses, with the husband expecting to play the traditional, dominant role, and the wife expecting equality. The third and fourth most serious causes are infidelity and triangle, respectively, infidelity meaning the husband was "running around with other women," and triangle meaning he "fell in love with another woman." One might expect desertion (i.e., "running off with another woman") to be next. However, it is down in ninth place.

The fifth most serious cause is neglect. This was stated in the questionnaire as follows: "My husband neglected us and never stayed home." Sixth is blame which was stated as follows: "My husband was always blaming me for everything." Seventh is excessive drinking by the husband, and eight is no support, meaning that the husband failed to support the family. The tenth most serious cause is career, meaning that the respondent wanted to carve out a career for herself. The eleventh is trouble with in-laws, and the twelfth is further education, meaning that the respondent

wanted to continue or resume her education. The list is rounded out by gambling, meaning the husband "spent all our money on gambling and the like." Lastly, the boys, which was stated as follows: "My husband was always running around with the boys." In general, this variable means same-sex relationships during marriage.

Marital Problem Clusters

The personal causes of divorce experienced by the divorcing parties directly translate into serious difficulties or problems, in or with marriage, which lead to divorce. For instance, if a respondent lists triangle (i.e., her husband fell in love with another woman) as the cause of divorce, it is clear that he (the husband) had difficulty with monogamy, and this difficulty led to divorce.

With this in mind, a re-examination of the index data reveals that four distinct clusters of marital problems clearly emerge which are labelled as follows. (1) The interpersonal relationship cluster of problems. (2) The monogamy cluster. (3) The economic consumption cluster. (4) The careerism cluster. These are schematically presented in Figure 2, where the causes of divorce are listed in the same order as in the index. An examination of these clusters afford us some insight into the more serious difficulties within marriage in our country.

Causes of Divorce	Marital Problem Clusters
Disagreements Bossiness	Interpersonal Relationship
Infidelity Triangle	Monogamy
Neglect Blame Excessive drinking No support	Economic Consumption
Desertion--anomaly	Monogamy
Career In-laws--unrelated Further education	Careerism
Gambling The boys	

Figure 2: Causes of Divorce and Marital Problem Clusters

These clusters of problems and their rankings form a striking fit with the predominant type family in our country, the nuclear family, made up of parents and their children. It will be noted that the families of the respondents of this survey prior to the divorces were nuclear families.

Interpersonal Relationship

Assuming that the seriousness of the problem clusters follows the same order as the indexed causes of divorce, then the most serious cluster of marital problems is the interpersonal relationship cluster, composed of the

variables disagreements and bossiness. It would appear that the interpersonal relationship between husband and wife may well be the most serious challenge and problem in marriage. In our postindustrial, highly mobile society where couples are frequently uprooted and removed from their families of orientation and friends, often the spouses alone must provide all of the attention, affection and support, which formerly in the extended family were provided by a large family circle and friends. Thus, in our modern setting, this exclusive relationship between the spouses is liable to suffer from overload, and finally breakdown. This overload is increased because of higher expectations about marriage. In our time, marriage is based on the romantic love complex which gives rise to the unreal expectation that marriage will be something like a continuous honeymoon, filled with warm affection and love between the spouses. Further, the female tends to expect that she will be an equal partner with her husband. This expectation of equality has been increased in recent years, no doubt, as the result of the Women's Liberation Movement, and the entry of more and more females into the workforce.

In place of the expected undying romance and mutual affection, support, understanding, harmony and basic equality between the spouses, instead pervasive misunderstandings, disagreements and quarrels develop, with the husband, apparently, endeavoring through bossiness to

subdue and subjugate the wife, and she, instead of submitting, becomes filled with resentment. The spouses become more and more alienated from each other, and fail to see eye to eye or agree on even the most basic matters, as each one becomes hardened and imprisoned within the shell of his or her own resentful perspective. In due time, possibly the only thing they can agree on is that they should get a divorce.

Monogamy

The second most serious cluster of marital problems is the monogamy cluster, made up primarily of infidelity--"running around with other women"--and triangle--"he fell in love with another woman." It would seem that the monogamous sex relationship between husband and wife may well be the second most serious challenge and problem in marriage.

In our society, marriage is monogamous both by norm and law. When a couple gets married, they pledge to be faithful to each other, to the exclusion of all others. Besides, our law does not tolerate a multiplicity of spouses, at least not simultaneously. Even though monogamy is the norm and the law, our society does not provide strong and effective safeguards and supports for monogamy. Besides, contrary values are widely and alluringly presented through many media, but perhaps especially through movies and television,

as well as glossy magazines, the epitome of which is probably Playboy.

Our data indicate that infidelity and triangle were both widely reported and rated as very serious by the respondents. One might expect desertion --"running off with another woman"-- to be up here along with infidelity and triangle. Instead it is down in ninth place, forming an apparent anomaly. However, the anomaly is resolved by recalling that at the outset, desertion was the least mentioned of all the causes listed. However, when it was listed, it tended strongly to be the most important cause. From this we can conclude that it was a rare occurrence, but one that was by no means trivial when it happened.

We might well ask why desertion is so rare when compared with infidelity and triangle. Two plausible explanations come to mind. First, where there is a triangle, that is, a love relationship with another woman, our public sense of decency may demand that it be kept under wraps or at least under control until a divorce is obtained. This may be the reason why in our highly mobile, rootless society involved in much moving, the phenomenon of a married man running off with another woman is not a pervasive one by any means. The second possible explanation is this. Even though the love triangle is widespread, causing much marital disruption, it is possible that few of these triangle relationships endure and survive the stress and difficulties involved in divorce and the breaking up of one's family.

Economic Consumption

The third most serious cluster of marital problems is the economic consumption cluster. This is made up of the variables neglect, blame, excessive drinking and no support. It would seem that reliable and responsible provision for one's family may well be the third most serious challenge and problem in marriage.

Formerly, the family was an economic production unit, with various members contributing to the production process. In modern American society, it is an economic consumption unit. The members of the family now "consume" the income brought home by the breadwinner(s). The consumption is continuous, involving as it does the purchase of the relative necessities of daily living. It has been found (Ross and Sawhill, 1975:59) that it is not the absolute level of income that is important for marital stability, but rather that the breadwinner earn on a par with those in his own SES level, and that the income be reliable, uninterrupted by avoidable layoffs.

In our findings, the economic cluster is comprised of the variables neglect--"he neglected us and never stayed home,"--excessive drinking and no support--"he failed to support us,"--in descending order. This would seem to indicate that in the eyes of wives, there is something more serious than the mere absence of adequate and reliable support, and that is its being squandered by the husbands in extramarital activities and excessive drinking.

In this problem cluster we also find the variable, blame--"my husband was always blaming me for everything." At first sight, it would seem to be an anomaly here, and that it should belong in the personal relationship cluster comprised of the variables disagreements and bossiness. However, it may be recalled that it is a well-known psychological fact that the guilty partner in a relationship frequently defends himself by shifting blame from himself to the innocent party--offense is a more effective strategy than defense. It seems plausible that the husband who is an unsuccessful or unreliable breadwinner defends himself by blaming his wife for the sad state of domestic affairs for which he himself is responsible.

It was expected that gambling would be in this cluster, but instead it is much further down on the index. Possibly this might be explained simply by the fact that Miami is not a gambling city.

Careerism

The least serious cluster of marital problems, at the bottom of the index, is careerism, consisting in our paradigm of the two variables or causes, career--"I wanted to carve out a career for myself"--and further education--"I wanted to continue/resume my education."

It is no surprise that wife's careerism should show up in our data as a problem cluster, in view of the increasing

numbers of married mothers who have been entering the workforce and professions since WWII. Further, it could be expected that this problem cluster would be at the bottom of the index in view of the fact that so many married mothers successfully, albeit with difficulty, engage full-time in the workforce and professions while maintaining intact and successful marriages.

At this point, only two variables remain for further comment, in-laws and the boys. Our data do not permit us to identify either of these two variables as part of any cluster of problems in marriage. However, it is clear that in-laws do pose a problem in marriage, a problem possibly on a par with careerism. Regarding the last variable, the boys, it would appear that same-sex relationships during marriage may be the least of the problems identified in our paradigm.

No Love Nor Communication

It may be recalled that the respondents were invited to write in the blank space provided at the end of the list of causes, any additional causes that applied in their cases. A total of 74 respondents did indeed write in additional information. It was decided to describe these data by themselves, separate from the foregoing, because of the probability that a certain selectiveness was in operation. Those respondents who found writing an easy or attractive

task were more likely to give additional information than the rest of the respondents.

The additional causes that were written in the respondents' own words fell into two clear-cut categories which we label no love and no communication.

Forty-eight of the respondents, that is 23.65 per cent, wrote that there was no love between them and their husbands, and that this was one of the main causes of the divorces. Then over half of these, 52.03 per cent, specified that this was the most important cause of the divorces.

Twenty-six respondents, that is 12.81 percent, wrote that there was no communication between them and their husbands, and that this was one of the main causes of their divorces. Just over one-quarter of these, 26.92 per cent, identified this as the most important cause of the divorces.

By using the same formula as earlier, we come up with an index value of 291.26 for no love, and 44.17 for no communication. Fully aware that a direct comparison of these data with the foregoing is inadmissable, nevertheless, it seems clear that these additional findings confirm in the strongest manner the earlier finding that the interpersonal relationship between husband and wife, involving love and communication, is the greatest problem and challenge in marriage.

The reader could legitimately ask why these two rather obvious variables were not included in the original list. The decision was made not to include any general, broad causes, most especially not to include absence of love, on the grounds that such variables, being so broad, would probably be checked by most respondents and the result would be inconclusiveness and confusion.

Summary

In the first section of this chapter, we saw that violence, both physical and sexual, was a pervasive problem in about one-tenth of the marriages that were reported on. In the majority of cases, it was the wife alone who proposed and later insisted on divorce. Somewhat less than half of the respondents and their ex-spouses sought counseling prior to the divorce. In nine-tenths of the cases the spouses separated before the divorce took place. Surprisingly, only one-third reported holding discussions with their ex-spouses before the divorces. Money, children and division of property were the main topics discussed. The majority of these marriages that were disrupted by divorce had the approval and support of the respondents' families, friends and co-workers, but were generally disapproved of by the ex-husbands' families.

In the second section, it was found that multiple causes of divorce were reported by the respondents who then

identified the cause that was most important. These causes were seen from the wives' perspective. As is readily understandable, these women tended very heavily to blame their ex-husbands for the divorces, rather than themselves. If similar questions were given to the ex-husbands would they tend to shoulder most of the blame? Possibly not. Would that invalidate our findings? By no means. Each would have reported from her and his perspective, and it would be altogether too much to expect that the ex-spouses, who had gone through the heartbreak of divorce, would end up after it all with the same shared perspectives.

It is quite probable that the same picture of the most serious difficulties and challenges in marriage would emerge from data collected from the ex-husbands. We found that the interpersonal relationship between husband and wife to be the most serious challenge and problem in marriage, followed next by problems associated with monogamy, economics, and wife's career.

CHAPTER VI
ACTIVITIES DURING MARRIAGE AND AFTER DIVORCE

Introduction

In this chapter, data will be presented first on activities shared by respondents and their spouses while they were married. Then similar information will be presented on the respondents' activities immediately after the marriage break-up, and then later on at the time of the data collection.

Next, information given by the respondents on the prejudice and discrimination they experienced as divorced women and mothers will be presented. This will be followed by an examination of their attitudes towards remarriage, as well as their patterns of dating and cohabitation. Lastly, a look will be taken at the role played by parents and friends in bringing about remarriages.

Shared Activities During the Marriage

In an effort to ascertain if the ex-spouses shared recreational activities and spent much leisure time together while married, some relevant questions were asked.

Going Out Together

When asked how often they and their ex-husbands went out together during the marriages, there was an even split in the responses between weekly, monthly, and never. When those who never went out together were asked why that was the case, 20.00 per cent said they had no money for such expenses, and 10.77 per cent said it was because of the babies. Consequently, 30.77 per cent of these respondents saw the lack of shared social or recreational activity outside the home as the result of perfectly legitimate reasons. However, the remaining 69.23 per cent saw it as the result of relational problems within marriage. These flatly said they didn't go out together because the ex-husbands would not take them out.

Shared Recreational Activities

When the respondents were asked if they and their ex-spouses shared in certain specified recreational activities, the positive response rate was mixed, depending on the activity specified, with the highest proportion reporting shared movie-going and TV watching, and the lower proportions sharing dancing and walking. The responses are presented in full in Table 16.

Besides these individual activities that were specified in the questionnaire, the respondents were invited to list other relevant activities. A total of 32 respondents listed

TABLE 16

Recreational Activities Shared by Spouses

Activity	N	per cent
Watching TV/reading	158	82.72
Going to the movies	145	76.72
Social drinking	80	46.24
Athletic activities	74	42.29
Dancing	69	39.88
Walking/jogging	61[1]	35.88[1]

[1]columns non-additive

the following additional shared activities. Sailing and swimming were specified by 56.25 per cent (N=18) of these 32 respondents, then 18.75 per cent (N=6) mentioned dining out, 9.37 per cent (N=3) church activities, with the same proportion listing enjoying friends together. Lastly, 6.25 per cent (N=2) reported sharing work together. All of the data indicate a wide variety of activities shared by a minority of the respondents and their ex-husbands, with only movie-going and watching TV/reading shared by a majority.

Activities and Interests After Marriage Break-up

In this section, data on respondents' activities immediately after the marriage break-up will be presented first, followed by similar data on their activities and interests at the time of the data collection.

Activities Immediately after the Marriage Break-up

The respondents were asked to specify by writing in a blank space provided in the questionnaire what they did after the marriage break-up to fill the gap left in their social and personal lives. Surprisingly, 189 responded to this request by writing in a wide variety of activities and interests, ranging from friends, specified by 31.22 per cent, down to bar-hopping, reported by 0.53 per cent, as can be seen in Table 17. It will be noted that 15.34 per cent said they did nothing. It is facinating to speculate if this inaction resulted from the absence of any need to do anything new or extra because there was no gap to be filled, or because they went intc a depression and did nothing as the result of it.

TABLE 17

Activities and Interests Immediately After Break-up

Activity	N	per cent
Friends	59	31.22
Dating	35	18.52
Nothing at all	29	15.34
Work	25	13.23
Children	15	7.94
College	11	5.82
Athletic activities	7	3.70
Church activities	7	3.70
Bar-hopping	1	0.53
Totals	189	100.00

A glance at the activities and items listed in Table 17 shows that these divorced mothers did not regard themselves as, nor act as swingers engaging in frenetic activities when the marriages broke up. Even the one respondent who listed bar-hopping noted that it was only for a short, crazy period that she engaged in that.

Respondents' Current Activities and Interests

Next, in order to get a profile of the respondents' activities at the time of the data collection, they were asked what their main recreational activities were then, outside of their jobs or housework. Then, with one exception, the same list of activities that was used for their activities with their husbands during marriage, was presented again to be checked by the respondents. The one item that was changed was TV/reading, which was replaced with dating. These data are presented in Table 18, along with the data already presented in Table 16 for ease of comparison.

A glance reveals that more respondents were currently active in all of the items that bear comparison than during their marriages. Later analysis may reveal whether this higher level of activity was a form of escapism or resulted from having a good time.

Then the respondents were asked to write in any other recreational activities that were currently important to

TABLE 18

Recreational Activities During Marriage and Now

Activity	During Marriage		Now	
	N	per cent	N	per cent
Watching TV/reading	158	82.72	0	--
Going to movies	145	76.72	149	87.14
Dating	0	--	111	71.61
Social drinking	80	46.24	86	54.43
Athletic activities	74	42.29	68	45.95
Dancing	69	39.88	72	48.98
Walking/jogging	61[1]	35.88[1]	87[1]	60.84[1]

[1]columns non-additive

them at the time of the data collection, besides those already listed in the questionnaire. Once again, the response rate was surprisingly high as 92 respondents specified the additional activities presented in Table 19. Because of the fact that these activities are the same as those written in earlier by the respondents when they were asked what they did to fill the gap after the marriage break up, both sets of data are presented for easy comparison.

The data in the table indicate that much higher proportions of the respondents were currently dating and engaging in athletic activities, with a slight increase in those reporting enjoying their children and engaging in church activities. Fewer indicated that they were now dependent on their friends and work, perhaps an indication that they had achieved more personal independence and adjustment by the time we contacted them.

TABLE 19

Activities after Marriage Break-up and Now

Activity	After Break-up		Now	
	N	per cent	N	per cent
Friends	69	31.22	24	26.09
Dating[1]	35	18.52	[111]	[71.61]
			(2)	(2.17)
Nothing at all	29	15.34	6	4.20
Work	25	13.23	9	9.78
Children	15	7.94	10	10.87
College	11	5.82	6	6.52
Athletic activities	7	3.70	31	33.70
Church activities	7	3.70	10	10.87
Bar-hopping	1	0.53	0[2]	-- [2]
Totals	199	100.00		

[1]Note: the data on Dating "Now" are put in parentheses since the 2.17 per cent reported here is completely misleading. Dating was already presented in the itemized list immediately preceding this question. There 71.61 per cent indicated they were currently dating. These data are inserted in brackets.
[2]columns non-additive

Next the respondents were asked to indicate which activity was currently most important for them. The largest proportion, 28.67 per cent, said dating was most important, followed next by 23.78 per cent who specified athletic activities; then 13.99 per cent said church activities, and 13.29 per cent specified their interaction with friends. This was followed by 9.09 per cent saying their activities with their children were paramount, and only 5.59 per cent put their work in first place. This listing would seem to lend further support to the earlier observation that by the

time of our contact with them, the respondents, by and large, were outgoing and well adjusted. A mere 4.20 per cent (N=6) said nothing was important, which might well indicate a need for adjustment and recovery from the trauma of the divorce.

Prejudice and Discrimination Experienced by Divorced Mothers

Slightly over one-third of the respondents, 36.87 per cent, said that they had been in social situations where they felt that people thought less of them because of being divorced. When asked to specify in writing the kind of prejudice they experienced, it became obvious that they also suffered a certain amount of discrimination. Table 20 presents a summary of the information on these regrettable experiences.

TABLE 20

Type or Source of Prejudice and Discrimination

Type or Source	N	per cent
Friends	31	58.49
Dating	14	26.42
Work	3	5.66
Children	3	5.66
Recreation	1	1.89
Church	1	1.89
Totals	53	100.01[1]

[1]not 100 per cent because of rounding

The most widespread prejudice came from friends of the respondents. At first that seems surprising. An examination of the accompanying comments, however, clearly indicates social uneasiness rather than prejudice in many cases. A typical comment was: "Some of my friends acted funny. They didn't seem to know what to say."

In the matter of dating, the situation was quite different. Here the indications were that typically either of two things happened. When the date found out she was divorced, he did not want to have anything more to do with her, or else he assumed she was fair game and tried to exploit her sexually.

The only other comments referred to the children. These respondents had tried to register their children in private schools. All was going well at first, but when the school authorities learned that the mothers were divorced, the tune changed and the children's names were removed to the bottom of the waiting lists. These would appear to be clear cases of discrimination.

Attitudes Towards Remarriage Of Divorced Mothers Not Remarried

Of the 203 divorced mothers who took part in the survey, 176 of them, or 86.70 per cent, had not remarried at the time of the data collection. Their attitudes towards remarriage were of special interest. They were asked if they were interested in remarriage, and if they were

engaging in activities that lead towards remarriage--dating--or were they prejudiced against remarriage in general as the result of their prior experiences, and avoiding dating.

With this in mind, these respondents were queried about dating, their thoughts about remarriage, and whether their parents and/or friends were trying to help them find eligible men. Lastly, since it has been suggested that "living together" may be a substitute or preparation for remarriage, this phenomenon was also probed.

Dating

When asked how often they dated, slightly over one-third of them, 34.30 per cent, said they dated never or almost never. An additional 18.02 per cent said they dated rarely--only once a month or so. That adds up to 52.32 per cent who were not engaged in or only marginally engaged in dating. In contrast, 25.58 per cent said they dated weekly.

Thinking of Remarriage

These respondents' current concrete attitudes and hopes about remarriage were next probed. First, the respondents were asked if, among their friends, there was someone they were thinking of remarrying. Slightly over a quarter of them, 27.78 per cent (N=50) said yes, while the others said no. Next, they were asked if they thought that they would

get married. Slightly over half of the responses to this question, 53.90 per cent (N=76) were positive, indicating that the respondents thought that they would get married again, while the remaining 46.10 per cent (N=65) said that they thought that they would not remarry.

When queried if they thought that they had worked out all the problems that needed to be resolved before getting remarried, 50 respondents, or 39.68 per cent of those who replied to this question, said that they had resolved them all. An additional 40.48 per cent said they had resolved some of them, and the remaining 19.84 per cent gave a flat no as their answer.

Living Together

As indicated in the review of the literature, the phenomenon of "living together" has become widespread. It was anticipated that quite a number of these divorced mothers would be living together with men without the benefit (or restriction) of a marriage contract. The findings are that 28 of them, or 15.73 per cent, were indeed living together with men.

Is this 15.73 per cent to be considered a high proportion? That probably depends mostly on one's *a priori* expectations. If one expected to find, for instance, at least half of them living together then this percentage would have to be considered low. By contrast, if one

expected that the divorced respondents would be so hurt by the experience of the divorce that they would be very hesitant to establish any type of exclusive relationship with men at this relatively early stage after divorce, then this would be considered a high proportion. At any rate, considered in absolute terms, 15.73 per cent could not be classified as a high proportion, and certainly it does not indicate that divorced mothers, on the whole, tend to jump into a new exclusive relationship soon after divorce. Of course, when speaking of entering a new relationship, mention must be made that 13.30 per cent (N=27) of the respondents had remarried at the time of the data collection. By adding these two numbers we find that a total of 29.03 per cent of the respondents (N=55) had established an exclusive relationship by the time of the survey, 28 of them through living together, and 27 of them through remarriage.

Analysis of the data on living together revealed that 68.18 per cent of the respondents who were cohabiting with men reported dating at least once a week or more often. This compares with 44.97 per cent of the respondents who were neither remarried nor living together. From this it would seem that, for those who were not remarried, frequent dating and living together tended to go together. Further, the living together relationships tended to be romantic ones in which there was frequent dating between the parties involved.

Matchmaking by Parents and Friends

The respondents who were not remarried were asked two questions regarding receiving help from others to meet eligible men. The first question concerned their parents and relatives trying to help, and the second one focused on friends helping. Only 8.52 per cent said that their parents and/or relatives had tried helping them meet eligible men, whereas 40.22 per cent said their friends had offered such help. This would seem to indicate that parents and relatives had learned long ago not to try interfering in the marital and personal affairs of these married (and now divorced) daughters. By contrast, many friends, in general, seemed to feel that such help as trying to have them meet eligible men was acceptable.

Summary

We found that approximately one-third of the respondents did not go out together with their husbands while they were married. This resulted from family responsibilities or lack of money in 30.77 per cent of the cases. But in the remaining 79.23 per cent of the cases, it resulted from relational problems, and as a result, the husbands would not take them out.

Over three-quarters of the respondents shared TV, reading and going to movies with their husbands, while close to one-half of them shared social drinking and athletic activities,

and somewhat over one-third shared dancing and walking/jogging. Some other activities were reported by a minority of respondents, with lastly only two who reported sharing work with their husbands.

After the marriage break-up, there was no evidence of frenzied or frenetic activity. Instead, the respondents tended to rely on their friends, children and dating, as well as their work, to fill the void. A small minority were kept busy by furthering their educations, and engaging in athletic and church activities, and one-sixth of them reported doing nothing at all.

At the time of the data collection, a slightly higher percentage reported engaging in movie-going, social drinking, athletic activities and dancing than during their marriages. There was a marked increase from 35.88 per cent to 60.84 per cent among those who were then engaged in walking/jogging, and not surprising, almost three-quarters of them were dating.

Slightly over one-third of the respondents suffered as the result of the prejudice and discrimination of others. However, in the majority of cases, these occurrences were of a minor nature.

We found that 13.30 per cent of the respondents had remarried and 15.73 per cent were cohabiting with men. Two-thirds of those who were cohabiting reported frequent dating. In contrast, just 45.00 per cent of those who were

neither remarried nor cohabiting were dating frequently. It would seem that, in general, it is not acceptable for parents to attempt helping their divorced daughters toward remarriage, since less than one-tenth of the respondents reported such help. By contrast, such help from friends seems to be quite widespread since close to half of the respondents reported being helped in this manner.

CHAPTER VII
SPOUSES' FEELINGS AFTER DIVORCE

Introduction

In this chapter an attempt will be made to trace the feelings of the respondents for their ex-spouses, from the time of the divorce down to the time of the survey. At the same time an assessment of the former husbands' feelings will be attempted. In this endeavor the respondents were asked direct questions about their feelings. Also an indirect approach using unobtrusive measures was used. They were questioned about related matters, such as communicating with, and dating their ex-husbands.

Ill Feelings for Ex-Husbnds

In an attempt to assess the feelings of the respondents for their ex-spouses around the time of the divorce, they were asked if before the divorce, or just after it, they felt that their ex-husbands ought to be punished for what they had done to them. Over one-third of them, 36.78 per cent (N=64), said that they often felt they should be punished, and an additional 42.53 per cent (N=74) said that they felt that way sometimes. The remaining 20.69 per cent (N=36) said thay never had any such feelings. Consequently,

79.31 per cent harbored ill feelings for their ex-spouses around the time of the divorces and tended to see them as the guilty partners, responsible for the pain and heartache, and deserving of punishment.

Next they were asked if at the time of the survey, they then felt that they ought to be punished. Here we find a dramatic change. Only 37.35 per cent (N=36) said that they still felt that the ex-husbands deserved to be punished, while the remaining 62.65 per cent had no such feelings. That is a 41.96 percentage point change, indicating that during the time between the divorce and the data collection, rather dramatic changes of attitudes and feelings took place.

This dramatic change prompted us to test the data by group. We expected to find the highest proportion of respondents who felt, at the time of the data collection, that their ex-husbands ought to be punished, in Group I, and the lowest in Group IV. Surprisingly, no significant difference was found. Approximately one-third in each group felt that they ought to be punished. This would seem to indicate that, in the aggregate, these feelings subsided in the first two months after the divorces, and that the ill feelings that survived through the first two months after divorce were indeed long lived.

Further analyses indicated that the stronger or more frequent bad feelings were initially, the more likely they

were to endure. At the time of the divorce, 36.78 per cent (N=64) felt quite often that their ex-husbands ought to be punished. At the time of the data collection that had dropped down only to 20.69 per cent (N=36). In contrast, while 42.53 per cent (N=74) felt sometimes at the time of the divorce that they ought to be punished, by the time of the data collection that had dropped all the way down to 16.09 per cent (N=28). This is a 26.44 percentage point drop compared with only 16.09 above.

Further, it was discovered that those who were on good terms at the time of the divorce were most likely to continue that way, as can be seen from the following. While 36 of the respondents did not have any feelings at the time of the divorce that their ex-husbands ought to be punished, only one of these felt that her ex-husband deserved to be punished at the time of the data collection. These data are presented in Table 21

TABLE 21

Feelings Towards Ex-Husbands at Divorce and Now

Feelings	At Divorce		Now	
	N	per cent	N	per cent
Punish often	64	36.78	36	20.69
Punish sometimes	74	42.53	28	16.09
No punish	36	20.69	1	0.57[1]
Totals	174	100.00	65	

[1]column non-additive

Communication With Ex-Husband

To ascertain the extent of communication, or more precisely, the extent of non-communication between the ex-spouses after the divorces, the respondents were asked if at the time of the first visits to the children, they and the ex-husbands talked to each other. Almost three-quarters of them, 70.41 per cent, said that they did talk together, but the remaining 29.59 per cent said there was no communication at all.

Dating Ex-Husband

For slightly over a quarter of the respondents, communication with their ex-husbands did not end in conversations. Because of loneliness or lingering affection, or other reasons, 7.03 per cent dated their ex-husbands frequently after the divorce and an additional 21.09 per cent did so a few times. Further, as is readily understandable, 17.83 per cent of the respondents reported that they continued to have sexual relations with their ex-spouses during the period following the divorce.

In summary we can say that in the period immediately after the divorce, while almost three-quarters of the respondents (72.00 per cent) had ill feelings towards their ex-spouses, nevertheless, nearly as many, 70.41 per cent of them, had talks with them, and over one-quarter of them (28.12 per cent) dated their ex-spouses. In addition, 17.83

per cent continued the sexual relationship at least to some extent. This clearly indicates that the divorce decree is not like the funeral service which permanently removes the deceased from sight. After divorce, communication and lingering relationships, mixed with bitterness, continue, at least for some time.

Continued Interest in Ex-Husband

When the respondents were asked if they continued to be interested in, and curious about their ex-spouses and what they were doing after the divorce, 69.15 per cent said yes, and the remaining 30.85 per cent said no. Further, they indicated that they desired to meet them whenever they could. When asked if they would try to avoid them if they knew they might meet them accidentally, 60.80 per cent said they would not try to avoid them, while the remaining 39.20 per cent said they would indeed try to avoid them.

Respondents' Guilt Feelings

It will be recalled that 72.00 per cent of the respondents reported that around the time of the divorce they felt that their ex-spouses deserved to be punished for what they had done. It is interesting that we find consistency of feelings rather than confusion when the respondents were probed about their own guilt feelings. They were asked if there ever had been times when they felt

that they did not play fair with their ex-husbands during the divorce process. A mere 9.10 per cent admitted to such guilt feelings, but the remaining 90.86 per cent claimed a consistently clear conscience.

Remarrying Ex-Husbands

We have seen evidence of lingering relationships surviving after the divorce. For 6.03 per cent of the respondents (N=12), this lingering relationship apparently was very strong because they said that, in spite of everything that they suffered in the divorce, they still wanted to remarry their former husbands.

Perceived Changes in Ex-Spouses

A mere 7.65 percent of the mothers (N=15) in this survey peceived their ex-husbands as having changed in ways that made them more attractive than during the marriages. In sharp contrast, practically half of the respondents, 48.98 per cent (N=96) believed, at the time of the survey, that they themselves had changed in ways that would make living with them easier than before the divorces. These respondents would seem to possess adequate self-images on this score.

Ex-Husband Was in Love

Even though elsewhere in the questionnaire falling in love with another woman was listed as possible cause of divorce, it was decided to include it here also in this section probing the respondents' feelings. They were asked directly: "Do you believe that your ex-husband was in love with another woman before the divorce?" Not surprisingly, a rather large proportion, 38.46 per cent (N=70) said yes they did. Next they were asked what effect that had on them. All of the above 70 respondents answered this question in various ways as indicated in Table 22.

TABLE 22

Reactions to Husbands' Falling in Love

Effect	N	per cent
Wanted to save the marriage	34	48.57
Wanted a divorce immediately	27	38.57
Indifference or no effect	7	10.00
Confused	1	1.43
Totally depressed	1	1.43
Totals	70	100.00

It is obvious that the reaction was swift and unmistakable in almost 90.00 per cent of the cases. This should be no surprise, since in our culture monogamous romantic love is the basis and foundation of marriage, and when this foundation is directly assailed by an extra-

marital involvement of one of the partners, an extreme reaction can be expected from the other partner upon discovering or suspecting the illicit relationship.

Respondent Was in Love

When the respondents were asked if they themselves were in love with another man while they were still married, 12.00 per cent (N=24) admitted that they were. This is a strikingly low proportion compared with the 38.46 per cent of the husbands (N=70) who were thus categorized. We can only speculate as to whether similar percentages would be reported if the men were surveyed, or if we would instead get a reversed mirror image reflecting bias in reporting. If the above data are objectively accurate, they would seem to indicate the persistance of the sexual double standard whereby males expect and indulge in activities denied to females.

Current Feelings of Ex-Spouses for Each Other

In order to get a picture of how the ex-spouses felt toward each other currently, the respondents were asked to describe their ex-husbands' feelings towards them at the time of the data collection, and also how they themselves felt towards their ex-husbands. The responses are presented in Table 23.

TABLE 23

Current Feelings of Ex-Spouses for Each Other

Feelings for Ex-Spouse	Ex-Husband		Ex-Wife	
	N	per cent	N	per cent
Love	30	14.93	29	14.80
Friendliness	62	30.85	87	44.39
Unfriendly	51	25.37	65	33.16
Unknown	56	27.86	0	--
Confused	2	1.00	0	--
Other	0	--	15	7.65
Totals	201	100.01[1]	196	100.00

[1]not 100 per cent because of rounding

It is rather striking that the perception was that practically 15.00 per cent of both ex-husbands and ex-wives still loved each other. The next two items in the table reveal that more respondents than ex-husbands had both positive (friendly) and negative (unfriendly) feelings for the ex-spouses.

It is probably safe to speculate that the 15.00 per cent of ex-spouses on both sides who were still in love certainly had not worked through the divorce process. In addition probably the 25.37 per cent ex-husbands and the 33.16 per cent respondents who were on unfriendly terms at the time of the survey were still suffering to some extent from the pain of the divorce. Undoubtedly the same could be said of the 1.00 per cent of the ex-husbands who were all confused. In contrast, the 30.85 per cent ex-husbands and the 44.39 per

cent ex-wives who were in the friendly category probably had worked through the divorce process successfully, in a creative or constructive manner. If that is the case, it would seem that approximately 15.00 per cent more of the ex-husbands than of the ex-wives had been unsuccessful to date in adjusting to divorce.

When we tested for mutuality of feelings, it was found that in the majority of cases, the feelings were mutual. Where the ex-husband was still in love with the respondent, in 50.00 per cent of the cases she was in love with him also. In 73.77 per cent of the cases where he was friendly, she was friendly too. Lastly, in 64.00 per cent of cases where he was unfriendly, she in turn was unfriendly too.

Ex-Husbands Remarried

The data indicate that 27.23 per cent of the ex-husbands (N=58) had remarried by the time of the data collection. By comparison, only 13.30 per cent of the ex-wives (N=27) had remarried. Consequently, the remarriage rate was twice as high for men as for women, during the several months between the divorces and the data collection. This certainly adds credibility to the earlier data that indicated that 38.46 per cent of the ex-husbands and only 12.00 per cent of the respondents had been in love with a third party during the marriage.

The respondents were asked how they reacted to the remarriage of the ex-spouses. Unfortunately, due to a printing error in the questionnaire it is very difficult to interpret the responses. A scale of possible responses was given as follows: 1) very unhappy, 2) a little upset, 3) I didn't care, 4) pleased, 5) very happy. Regrettably the first choice, "very unhappy" was misprinted as "very happy."

Summary

We found that four-fifths of the respondents harbored ill feelings for their spouses around the time of their divorces, feeling that they should be punished. However, at the time of the survey only 37.35 per cent felt that way. Further, the data indicated that this dramatic change seemed to have occurred during the first couple of months immediatley following the divorce.

It has been noted that divorces with children involved are hardly ever final because the partners must communicate about the children. Our data indicated that 70.44 percent in our sample did indeed communicate with their former spouses when they came to pick up the children in accordance with the custody arrangements. However, 29.59 per cent did not communicate, suggesting perhaps strong ill-feelings between the parties.

We found that, because of lingering affection or other reasons, 28.10 per cent dated their ex-husbands after the

divorces, and 17.83 per cent continued a sexual relationship to some extent. Two-thirds reported a continued interest in their ex-spouses and a curiosity about what they were doing, and a somewhat lower 60.80 per cent indicated that they wanted to continue meeting them.

When we examined the respondents' feelings about themselves and their role in the divorce, we found that less than one-tenth, 9.14 per cent, reported having guilt feelings. This is in sharp contrast with 72.00 per cent who saw the ex-spouses as the guilty partners deserving of punishment. In spite of the heartbreak and disappointment 6.03 per cent still wanted to remarry their ex-spouses at the time of the survey.

In 38.46 per cent of the cases, the ex-husbands were reported to have been in love with another woman while still married. When this was discovered by the wives, in almost half of the cases, 48.57 per cent, they wanted to save the marriages. However, 38.57 per cent swiftly reactly by wanting a divorce immediately. In the remaining 12.86 per cent, the discovery produced mainly indifference, but also confusion and depression.

In contrast with the high number of husbands who were in love, only 12.00 per cent of the wives had found themselves in the same situation, indicating perhaps the endurance of the sexual double standard.

Having found some respondents who still wanted to remarry their former spouses, it was no surprise to find that 15.00 per cent, approximately, of both ex-spouses were still in love with each other. Besides, 30.85 per cent of the ex-husbands and 44.39 per cent of the respondents were on friendly terms with the former mates. However the remainder harbored negative feelings. That amounted to over half of the ex-husbands and four-tenths of the ex-wives.

While 13.30 per cent of the ex-wives had remarried, twice as many of the ex-husbands, 37.23 per cent, had remarried. Due to a regrettable printing error it was impossible to gauge the effect these events had on the former partners' feelings.

CHAPTER VIII
DIVORCE AND FINANCES

Introduction

In this chapter we will examine the correlates of divorce and income as they impinged upon the parties involved. Some aspects of this subject have already been touched upon in different places in this work, as they related to other dimensions of divorce already covered. However it was decided to examine all aspects of finances related to divorce in this chapter so that a comprehensive and clear picture may be developed in as far as our data permit. We think that this is justified because of the central position that the economic institution holds in our postindustrial society.

Females have been entering the workforce and professions in greater numbers and proportions in recent decades. Our respondents' records in this regard, both before and after divorce, will be examined together with their resultant earnings. Next, the incomes of the ex-husbands, as well as those of the current husbands of the remarried, will be examined and compared. Then the dual subject of alimony and child support will be analyzed. Lastly, in order to cover all the sources of income that the respondents might have, their total current financial resources will be scrutinized.

Respondents' Work Records

Just over half of the respondents, 50.74 per cent (N=103), reported working full-time during the marriages, and 17.24 per cent (N=35) worked part-time, while an additional 23.65 per cent (N=48) worked on and off. The remaining 8.37 per cent (N=17) were not employed gainfully while they were married. By the time of the data collection, those working full-time had climbed almost 30 percentage points to 79.10 per cent (N=159), while those working part-time had declined to 8.96 per cent (N=18), and a mere 0.50 per cent (N=1) reported working on and off. Consequently, there was a 28.36 percentage point increase among those working fulltime, an 8.28 percentage point decrease in those working part-time, and a 23.15 percentage point decrease among those working on and off. Those who reported not working at the time of the survey had inched up to 11.44 per cent (N=23), a 3.07 percentage point increase. In summary, when we compared the past with the present, we found that there was a marked shift from working part-time and on and off to working full-time. These data are presented in Table 24.

TABLE 24

Respondents' Work Records During Marriage and Now

Work	During Marriage		Now		
	N	per cent	N	per cent	point change
Full-time	103	50.74	159	79.10	+28.36
Part-time	35	17.24	18	8.96	- 8.28
On and off	48	23.65	1	0.50	-23.15
No work	17	8.37	23	11.44	+ 3.07[1]
Totals	203	100.00	201	100.00	

[1]column non-additive

Respondents' Incomes

The weekly take-home pay of the respondents during the last year of marriage averaged $188.00 (median $170.00), and it ranged from a low of $50.00 to a high of $800.00. At the time of the survey, in spite of the shift to working full-time already noted, the respondents' weekly take-home pay had risen only to an average of $203.00 (median $185.00), and it ranged from a very low of $40.00 to an impressive high of $1,200. Consequently, looking at either the mean or the median we can say that, in the aggregate, when inflation is taken into account, there was scarcely any increase in the respondents' take-home pay from the last year of their marriages up to the time we contacted them.

Ex-Husbands' and New Husbands' Incomes

The respondents reported that their ex-husbands' weekly incomes (after taxes) during the last year of the marriages averaged $440.00 (median $300.00) and they ranged from a low of $50.00 to a high of $1,200.00.

The remarried respondents reported that their current husbands' weekly incomes (after taxes) ranged from a low of $150.00 to a high of $5,000.00, with a mean of $496.00 (median $250.00). When we compare these figures with those of the ex-husbands' incomes, we find that the mean had increased by $50.00. However, since the income figures are skewed rather than normally distributed, the median is a better summary statistic than the mean. We find that the median income dropped from $300.00 for the ex-husbands to $250.00 for the current husbands, a decrease of $50.00. Consequently, it would seem that these respondents on remarrying did not enjoy an increase in husbands' income, in the aggregate, but rather a decrease, indicating downward mobility from the earlier marriages. These figures are presented in Table 25.

TABLE 25

Weekly Incomes of Ex-Husbands and Present Husbands

Husbands	N	Mean	Median	Min	Max
Ex-husbands' income	160	$440	$300	$ 50	$1,200
New husbands' income	23	$496	$250	$150	$5,000

Alimony and Child Support

Other possible sources of income for the respondents were alimony and/ or child support. We will examine both of these now. Under the current no-fault divorce laws in Florida, either partner may be required to pay alimony and/or child support. In our sample only one respondent was required to pay alimony and none was enjoined to pay child support. As expected, such was not the case with ex-husbands. Practically one-quarter of them, 24.08 per cent (N=46), were court ordered to pay alimony to their ex-wives. The amount to be paid monthly in alimony averaged $453.00 (median $300.00), with the range extending from a low of $10.00 to a high of $2,500.00. According to the respondents, the record on its being paid was good, or at least better than that of child support. Alimony was always paid in 85.71 per cent of the cases (N=30), and an additional 5.71 per cent (N=2) said it was usually paid. It was seldom paid in 5.71 per cent of the cases (N=2) and the remaining 2.86 per cent (N=1) reported that it was never paid at all.

While not quite one-quarter of the fathers were enjoined to pay alimony, slightly over two-thirds of them, 69.46 per cent (N=121), were ordered to pay child support. These payments ranged from a token $10.00 to $1,000.00 per month, and the mean was $250.00 (median $200.00) a month. Child support was always paid in 73.63 per cent of the cases (N=95), and it was usually paid by 8.53 per cent (N=11).

The remaining 17.83 per cent (N=23) was paid seldom or never. These data on alimony and child support are presented in Table 26 and Table 27.

TABLE 26

Ex-Husbands Ordered to Pay Alimony and Child Support

Ex-Husbands	Alimony		Child Support	
	N	per cent	N	per cent
Enjoined to pay	46	24.08	121	69.46
Not enjoined to pay	145	75.92	53	30.54
Totals	191	100.00	174	100.00

TABLE 27

Frequency of Alimony and Child Support Payments

Frequency Paid	Alimony		Child Support	
	N	per cent	N	per cent
Always	30	85.71	95	73.63
Usually	2	5.71	11	8.53
Seldom or never	3	8.51	23	17.83
Totals	35	99.99[1]	129	99.99[1]

[1]not 100 per cent because of rounding

In summary, approximately one-quarter of the fathers were enjoined to pay alimony, and two-thirds of them were required to pay child support. In the aggregate, the child support payments (median $200.00) equalled two-thirds of the alimony payments (median $300.00).

Average Weekly Financial Resources

Besides the sources of income examined thus far, the respondents may have received financial aid from their own parents, welfare, AFDC and other sources. It was decided not to attempt examining all of these sources individually. Instead, questions were devised in an attempt to cover all possible sources of income. The results of these questions are presented in this section.

The respondents were asked "How much money, on the average, do you have each week to pay your expenses (from the job, ex-husband, present husband, welfare, etc.)?" The responses indicated that those who had not yet remarried had, on the average, $266.00 (median $230.00) each week, with the range extending from a low of $50.00 to a high of $2,000.00. In contrast, those who had remarried reported having an average of $520.00 (median $500.00) each week, ranging from a low of $230.00 to a high of $1,000.00. These figures indicate that, by and large, the remarried respondents had about twice as much money to live on each week compared with their non-remarried counterparts.

Next, the respondents were asked if the money available each week was adequate. Of those who had remarried, 87.50 per cent (N=14) said yes it was, while the remaining 12.50 per cent (N=2) said that it was inadequate. In contrast, less than half, 46.89 per cent (N=83), of those not remarried expressed having enough money while the other

53.11 percent (N=94) said they did not. These figures are presented in Table 28 and Table 29.

TABLE 28

Respondents' Available Money for Weekly Expenditures

Respondents	Mean	Median	Low	High
Remarried	$520	$500	$230	$1,000
Not remarried	$226	$230	$ 50	$2,000

TABLE 29

Assessment of Weekly Money Available

Respondents	Adequate		Inadequate		Totals	
	N	per cent	N	per cent	N	per cent
Remarried	14	87.50	2	12.50	16	100.00
Divorced	83	46.89	92	53.11	175	100.00

In summary, compared with those who had not remarried, those who had remarried had approximately twice the amount of money for weekly expenditures (medians $500.00 vs. $230.00). Further, almost nine-tenths of them found this amount adequate whereas less than half of those who had no new husbands reported adequate money. Consequently, remarriage was strongly associated with adequate financial resources for daily living.

It may be recalled that earlier data indicated that the incomes of the new husbands of the remarrieds did not

measure up to the incomes of the former husbands. The respondents involved seem to have been aware of this, as the following data indicate, even though most of them said that currently they had adequate resources to live on each week. The question was posed: "When do you think you were financially 'better off?'" Exactly half of the remarrieds (N=8) said they were better off in the former marriages, and 6.25 per cent (N=1) said there was no difference. Only the remaining 43.75 per cent (N=7) said they were better off in the new marriages than in the old.

It is a little surprising that among the respondents who had not remarried, only 45.29 per cent (N=77) said they were better off when married, and 28.82 per cent (N=49) said there was no difference. The remaining 25.88 per cent (N=44) said they were better off divorced. This positive assessment of their present situation possibly resulted from their sense of complete control over their income, rather than from increased income. These data are presented in Table 30.

When we compare the "now" data in Table 30, the contrast between the two groups is sharply evident. Almost one-half of the remarrieds, 43.75 per cent, said they were better off now, compared with only one-quarter, 25.88 per cent of those who had not remarried, who said the same thing.

At this point it was surmized that those who were not remarried but living together with men would be in good

TABLE 30

Period of Superior Financial Security

Period	Remarried		Non-remarried	
	N	per cent	N	per cent
During former marriage	8	50.00	77	45.29
Now	7	43.75	44	25.88
No difference	1	6.25	49	28.82
Totals	16	100.00	170	99.99[1]

[1]not 100 per cent because of rounding

financial situations similar to those who had remarried. Consequently, it was expected that they would tend to report having adequate money each week, while those who were neither remarried nor living together would tend strongly to report inadequate money. However, when this was tested we found no support for our supposition. Among those who had not remarried, approximately one-half of those cohabiting, as well as one half of those not cohabiting, reported inadequate money.

This would seem to suggest that living together arrangements did not afford access to the males' incomes, nor a sense of financial security as remarriage did. Instead, as earlier data on dating indicated, living together tended to be a romantic experience involving much dating, as the parties tested the viability of the relationship.

Next, three additional suppositions were tested. (1) That adequate weekly financial resources would be a function of receiving child support. (2) That adequate weekly resources would be a function of receiving alimony. (3) That adequate weekly resources would be a function of receiving child support and alimony.

In the first case we found a statistically significant positive relationship between receiving child support every month and having adequate money to live on (P=.015). In the other two cases we could not find any significant evidence that adequate financial resources were dependent on alimony considered alone or in conjunction with child support.

Further analysis indicated that adequate financial resources, besides being dependent on income from child support, significantly correlated with the absolute level of income from all sources, in the instance of those who had not remarried (r=0.192; P=0.0174). That means that regardless of SES, those mothers who had not remarried tended to report inadequate money when the amount available was small, while those who had larger amounts available tended to report sufficient resources. For those who had remarried, we had a similar, stronger finding concerning absolute level of income. However, because of the small number of responses in this category (N=15), the finding was not statistically significant, but it closely approached statistical significance (r=0.488; P=0.0651). Next, the

respondents who were not remarried were asked where they would turn first for financial help in case of need. Remarkably, 59.41 per cent (N=101) said they would go to their own families, and an additional 12.94 per cent (N=22) said they would turn to their friends, and 10.59 per cent (N=18) said they would simply work more. Only 7.66 per cent (N=13) would turn to their ex-husbands, and a mere 0.59 per cent (N=1) would approach their ex-husbands' families. Only 3.53 per cent (N=6) would go to Children's Aid, and 4.71 per cent (N=8) would seek welfare.

In summary, in case of financial need, the overwhelming majority, 82.94 per cent, said they would take care of the situation through their own families and friends, or by themselves through extra work. Of the remainder, exactly one-half would seek public assistance, and the other half would approach their ex-husbands or ex-in-laws. It is obvious that in financial matters, these mothers certainly had their pride in respect to their ex-in-laws and public assistance.

In an attempt to probe deeply the respondents' feelings towards their ex-husbands in matters of money, they were next asked if they would go to their ex-husbands even as a second choice after the other approach failed. Only 39.39 per cent of them (N=65) said yes they would, while the remaining 60.61 per cent (N=100) said no, they would not. Again it is obvious that in financial matters, for whatever

reasons, these mothers were most reluctant to approach their ex-spouses, or simply would not go near them no matter what.

The independence and self-pride of these mothers is borne out further by their responses to the question "Have you ever thought of remarriage as a possible solution to your financial problems?" Only 12.43 per cent (N=22) said yes, they had often thought of it, and 35.03 per cent (N=62) said they seldom considered it, while the remaining 52.54 per cent (N=93) said they never had any such thoughts.

Summary

During the marriages half of the respondents worked full-time, and by the time we contacted them that proportion had increased to four-fifths. There had been a 50.00 per cent decline among those working part-time, and only one was working on and off compared with 48 during the marriages. In spite of this shift to full-time work, there was scarcely any increase in their mean or median income.

Their ex-husbands' weekly median income during the last year of the marriages was $300.00. This was almost double the respondents' earnings at the same time. The new husbands of the remarrieds had a significantly lower median income than that of the ex-husbands.

One-quarter of the ex-husbands were enjoined to pay alimony, and the median alimony monthly payment was exactly equal to their weekly median income during the last year of

the marriages--$300.00. The alimony payments were always or usually paid in over 90.00 per cent of the cases. Slightly more than two-thirds of the ex-husbands were ordered to pay child support. Here the median payment was only two-thirds that of alimony--$200.00. Further, the record of child support fell far short also. It was always or usually paid in only slightly better than 80.00 per cent of the cases.

The remarried respondents reported having more than twice the financial resources for daily expenses, compared with those who had not remarried. Almost 90.00 per cent of the former found these resources adequate compared with less than 50.00 per cent of the latter. Analysis disclosed that the possession of adequate money to live on was dependent, first of all, on remarriage, and also on receiving child support payments regularly. But no such relationship was found in regard to alimony nor cohabitation.

Remarkably, over 90.00 per cent of the respondents displayed a strong desire to be and remain financially independent of their ex-husbands. A similar attitude toward public assistance was also displayed. In contrast, they indicated that financial assistance from their own parents might be acceptable.

CHAPTER IX
THE CHILDREN OF DIVORCE

Introduction

In this chapter we will present certain data on the offspring of respondents of this survey. The term offspring is advisedly used rather than children because, although the majority of the offspring were children, the rest were of age and grown up. This wide age range results from the fact that no limit was placed on the ages of the respondents. However, although the adult offspring are included, practically all of the information collected is on children in the strict sense of the term, that is, minors.

Number of Offspring

The total number of offspring reported by the respondents was 407. Slightly over one-third of the mothers, 35.05 percent, reported having one offspring, and 37.56 per cent, two. Next, 17.26 per cent had three offspring; 6.60 per cent, four; 3.05 per cent, five; and 0.51 per cent, six offspring. Both the modal and mean number of offspring was two. These data are presented in Table 31.

TABLE 31

Offspring of Respondents

Respondent's Family Size	N	per cent
1 offspring	69	35.03
2 offspring	74	37.56
3 offspring	34	17.26
4 offspring	13	6.60
5 offspring	6	3.05
6 offspring	1	0.51
Totals	197	100.01[1]

[1] not 100 per cent because of rounding

Ages of Offspring

Slightly more than a fifth of the offspring, 21.03 per cent, were preschoolers, 29.23 per cent were of gradeschool age, and 30.77 per cent were teenagers. That adds up to 81.03 per cent of the offspring being minors. The remaining 18.97 per cent had reached their majority. These data are presented in Table 32.

TABLE 32

Ages of Offspring

Age Group	N	per cent
Preschoolers	41	21.03
Gradeschoolers	57	29.23
Teenagers	60	30.77
18 years and over	37	18.97
Totals	195	100.00

Custody of the Children

In 92.70 per cent of the cases (N=165) the mothers got custody of the children, while the fathers got custody in 3.93 per cent of the cases (N=7). Regarding the remaining 3.37 per cent (N=6), there was split custody between both parents, and also custody awarded to others besides the parents. According to the data, the custody arrangements were agreeable to both the fathers and mothers in 90.91 per cent of the cases (N=160); in 6.25 per cent (N=11), they were agreeable only to the mothers; in 1.71 per cent (N=3), they were agreeable only to the fathers. and an unhappy 1.14 per cent (N=2) said nobody was pleased with the arrangements.

Apart from a single exception, in all of the cases where there was dissatisfaction with the custody arrangements, it was the mother who had custody of the children. The exception to this was a father who had custody and who was unhappy with the arrangement.

In summary, in 93 per cent of the cases the mothers received custody of the children, and 97 per cent of these mothers and 93 per cent of the fathers were pleased with this arrangement.

Visiting Rights

When just one of the parents had custody, the other parent received visiting rights in all but 8.59 per cent of the cases. The frequency of these visits ranged from weekly (30.68 per cent), through monthly (11.04 per cent) and holidays (2.45 per cent) to only once a year in the summer (4.29 per cent). In the remaining 42.95 per cent, visiting times were comprised of various combinations of the above.

When the mothers who had custody of their children were asked if they would like to have the fathers see more or less of their children, 12.33 per cent (N=18) said they wished they would see the children less often, and an additional 8.90 per cent (N=13) said they wished there were no visits at all. That adds up to slightly over one-fifth of the mothers who wanted fewer or no visits at all between the children and their fathers. Among the remainder, 32.19 per cent (N=47) wanted more frequent visits, and 46.58 per cent (N=68) wanted them left as they were. So, in the aggregate, practically four-fifths of the mothers indicated that they were in favor of visits between the children and their fathers. We consider that as an impressively large proportion, especially in view of the fact that 28.15 per cent of the mothers stated that the children were harder to handle after these visits. The remaining mothers reported a neutral (53.33 per cent) or positive effect (18.52 per cent) on the children right after these visits, by saying that it

was as easy or easier to handle the children after they returned.

Analysis of the data revealed that 50.00 per cent of the respondents who stated that their children were harder to handle after visits with their fathers wanted the visits curtailed or completely ended. In contrast, only 8.00 per cent of those who said that they were easier to handle afterwards wanted fewer or no visits at all. From this it is clear that the children's responses to these visits influenced the mothers' attitudes.

In summary, practically four-fifths of the mothers viewed these visits as beneficial or desirable, including 50.00 per cent of those who experienced difficulties with their children afterwards. It would seem that, in spite of incidental difficulties, the mothers were in favor of these visits for the benefit either of the children, or of the respondents themselves, or even of the fathers--or a combination of the above.

Children's Feelings for their Fathers

When asked about the children's feelings for their fathers at the present compared with during the marriage, 21.28 per cent of the mothers (N=30) said that the children loved them more now, 52.48 per cent (N=74) said they loved them about the same, 23.40 per cent (N=33) said they loved them less, and 2.84 per cent (N=4) said they do not love

them now and never did. Consequently, in the aggregate, the only change was 2 per cent of the children who loved their fathers less after the divorces than during the marriages.

Child Support

According to the data, in no instance had any respondent to pay child support. As might well be expected, that was not the case with the fathers. One hundred and twenty-one of the fathers, 69.46 per cent, were enjoined to pay child support. The child support payments ranged from a token $10.00 to $1,000.00 per month, with the average being $250.00 per month (median $200.00).

When asked if the fathers always paid the child support, 73.63 per cent of the mothers (N=95) said yes it was always paid, an additional 8.53 per cent (N=11) said it was usually paid. The remaining 17.83 per cent (N=23) said it was paid seldom or never.

Slightly over half the respondents believed that the fathers were satisfied about the support payments as 52.07 per cent (N=63) said that the fathers thought the payments were alright, and in addition, 1.65 per cent (N=2) reported that the fathers thought they were too little. The remaining 46.28 per cent (N=56) reported that the fathers thought the payments were too high.

It is rather striking that the data on how the respondents themselves felt about the child support payments

form practically a mirror image of the fathers' opinions as can be seen in Table 33. Just over half of the fathers and mothers thought that the payments were alright. Then 46.28 per cent of the fathers (N=56) thought they were too high while 47.97 per cent of the mothers (N=59) thought they were too low.

TABLE 33

Parents' Opinions of Child Support Payments

Opinion	Father		Mother	
	N	per cent	N	per cent
Payments too high	56	46.28	1	0.81
Payments alright	63	52.07	63	51.22
Payments too low	2	1.65	59	47.97
Totals	121	100.00	123	100.00

Analysis revealed that of the 56 ex-husbands who felt that the child support payments were too high, 48.21 per cent of their ex-wives thought they were alright, and 51.97 per cent thought they were too little--none of them shared their husbands' views. By contrast, of the 63 husbands who thought that the payments were alright, 53.97 per cent of the ex-wives agreed, 1.59 per cent thought they were too high, while 44.44 per cent thought that they were too small. We can well surmise that the child support payments were a continuous bone of contention among those ex-spouses with opposite feelings regarding the child support payments.

When we came to the actual payment of support, it was found that the fathers' feelings were an important determining factor rather than the mothers'. Of the fathers who were dissatisfied, 19.23 per cent made no payments, compared with just 5.00 per cent of those satisfied. The mothers' feelings were of little or no account, because approximately 15 per cent of both the satisfied and dissatisfied mothers received no child support.

Working Mothers and Child Care

The divorced mother who works is faced with the daily problem of child care. If the children are of school age, the problem is lessened since child care is needed for only a couple of hours each day during the school year, or not at all if the children are mature enough to take care of themselves on returning from school, or if the mother finds that it is adequate to check on them by phone.

When asked who took care of their children during work, 12.00 per cent said that their own families did, and 12.80 per cent said neighbors and friends did. Two-thirds of the children were taken care of by nursery school and regular school, 24.00 per cent by the former, and 44.80 per cent by regular school. The remaining 6.40 per cent said they did not have to work. Overall the mothers expressed satisfaction with the arrangements: 62.39 per cent rated the child care as good, and an additional 34.86 per cent as

average, and only 2.75 per cent of the respondents (N=3) rated it as poor.

Dating and Child Care

When asked who took care of the children when they, the mothers, had dates, exactly 50.00 per cent said their own families filled the breach, and an additional 6.48 per cent said that their friends helped. Next, 30.56 per cent got babysitters, and in 11.11 per cent of the cases the children were considered mature and responsible enough to take care of themselves.

Mothers' Lives Restricted by Children

It is to be expected that divorced mothers would find their lives restricted by being responsible for the children. The data indicate that in each of the serious areas of work, education, and remarriage, approximately one-third felt restricted by the children, but in social matters approximately one-half felt this way. Just 31.51 per cent said their childen were a handicap as far as their work was concerned, and 37.59 per cent said the same regarding their education. As far as remarriage was concerned, 34.06 per cent were of the opinion that the children lessened their chances. In the social area of their lives, 50.69 per cent felt that their social activities were restricted, 44.44 per cent said the same for dating, and 54.86 per cent said their

recreation was restricted by the children. These data are presented in Table 34.

TABLE 34

Mothers' Lives Restricted by Children

Areas Restricted	N	per cent
Work	46	31.51
Education	53	37.59
Remarriage	47	34.06
Social activities	73	50.69
Dating	64	44.44
Recreation	79[1]	54.86[1]

[1]columns non-additive

Mothers without Custody of Children

In all, ten of the respondents reported that they had custody of none or only some (split custody) of their children. When asked if, in general, they felt that the children not in their custody were getting satisfactory care, all of them said yes, they felt that they were receiving good care. When asked "Do the children seem to miss you?" 20.00 per cent (N=2) said yes, very much, 50.00 per cent (N=5) said yes, but only a little, and the remaining 30.00 per cent (N=3) said no, not at all.

When asked "Do you feel that the children would be better off with you?" 30.00 per cent said yes, and the remaining 70.00 per cent said no. When asked "Do you want custody of the children," two of the respondents declined to answer, and the remaining eight all said no.

So it would seem that, in general, lack of custody of the children was not a problem for these mothers. Only a minority felt that their children missed them very much, and that the children would be better off with them. Further, none of these respondents said they wanted custody of the children.

Summary

The average number of offspring reported by the respondents was two. Almost one-fifth had reached their majority while the rest were minors. In 92.70 per cent of the cases the mother alone had custody of the children, and in 3.93 per cent, the father alone. The custody arrangements were satisfactory to 97.16 per cent of the mothers and to 92.62 per cent of the fathers. In the instances where just one parent had custody, the other parent had visiting rights in 91.41 per cent of the cases. Practically four-fifths of the mothers who had exclusive custody were in favor of the children visiting with their fathers. Only a negligible change in the children's feelings for their fathers resulted from the divorces. Practically 70.00 per cent of the fathers, but none of the mothers were enjoined to pay child support. Payments were always or usually made in 82.16 per cent of the cases. Slightly over half of the fathers and mothers were satisfied with the support payments, but the remainder of the men thought that

they were too high while the remainder of the women thought that they were too low. The father's attitude was found to be an important factor effecting actual payment.

All but 6.40 per cent of the mothers reported working at the time of the survey. While they worked, two-thirds of their children were taken care of by nursery or regular school, and the rest of the children stayed with the mothers' families, friends and neighbors. Practically all of the mothers expressed satisfaction with these arrangements, with only 2.75 per cent being dissatisfied.

Approximately one-third of the mothers considered their children a hindrance to their work, education and chances of remarrying, while about half of them felt the same way about the children regarding recreation, dating and social activities. This latter high proportion probably resulted from the fact that their recreation, dating and social activities occurred outside of school hours when additional arrangements would have to be made for the children.

All of the respondents who did not have custody of their children felt that their children were receiving good care, and none of them wanted to change the custody arrangements.

CHAPTER X
THE TRAUMA AND TRIUMPH IN DIVORCE

Introduction

In this chapter we will first comment on past studies of the trauma of divorce and explain the open approach used in this survey. Then our findings on the negative and positive effects of divorce will be presented, followed by data on the most important effects of divorce. Next we will present two indexes of the relative significance of the effects of divorce. Some of the implications of our findings will be enlarged on and presented.

Lastly, a Divorce Trauma-Triumph scale will be presented illustrating the relative trauma and adjustment experienced by the respondents, and a profile will be established of those who suffered deepest trauma and least adjustment.

Former and Present Approaches to the Trauma of Divorce

First Willard Waller in *The Old Love and the New*, and then William J. Goode in *After Divorce* focused on the personal problems and trauma experienced by divorcing couples. Goode found that in 37 per cent of his respondents there was litle increase in symptoms, and classified them as low trauma. However, in about two-thirds of the cases,

there was definite evidence of a significant increase in personal difficulties.

Within the past decade there has been a revived interest in this aspect of divorce resulting in the publication of multiple surveys and clinical reports, as indicated in the review of the literature. Practically all of these researchers, taking their cues from Waller and Goode, assumed that divorce was a traumatic experience, and did their research accordingly, and found what they were looking for. The author of the present survey found a basic difficulty with these recent studies. By and large they investigated only the dark side of divorce and they all found what they were looking for--widespread reporting of trauma. The author had been led to ask repeatedly is divorce all bad, or all that bad? If it is, it is rather amazing that the word did not get out to those who have been contemplating and obtaining divorces. The escalating divorce rate of recent years would seem to indicate that the people involved did not get the message.

Reports based on clinical data, and generalizations based on such reports have been of particular concern. It is quite important and rather basic to remind ourselves that it is people who are ill and suffering from medical problems who frequent medical clinics. Probably we should likewise expect people suffering "divorce problems" to attend clinics on divorce, and it may not be totally unfair to say that

possibly those who attend such clinics end up perceiving more problems than they ever dreamed of before. This is not to be taken as a criticism of divorce clinics. Such clinics deserve the highest praise for the services and help they offer to those in need. The comment is against assuming that those who attend divorce clinics are in anyway representative of the divorce population. Further, the bottom line is rather basic: the same must be said of all surveys or studies that do not use a random sample representative of the whole divorce population.

Following a very valuable suggestion from a colleague, it was decided to approach the question of the trauma of the divorce experience with an open mind and to attempt structuring the questions accordingly. It was visualized that divorce could be a bad experience for some, a good experience for others, and a mixed experience for still others.

Goode in his study asked the respondents if they had experienced certain difficulties during the divorce process, such as difficulties sleeping and working, symtomatic of trauma. It was decided to retain Goode's approach, but to expand on it by asking the respondents if, besides bad experiences, they had good experiences associated with the divorce during the divorce process. These we will call the negative and positive effects of divorce.

It was strongly felt that this double approach should be used in attempting to measure trauma and subsequent adjustment. Just as in the world of economics a person's net value cannot be assessed by totalling his or her entire liabilities alone, but rather by balancing them against the assets, so too a person's adjustment cannot be measured solely by the difficulties he or she encounters and experiences, but rather by the responses, both negative and positive, to these difficulties. Therein lies the importance of using negative and positive effects of divorce.

In an attempt to avoid causing any bias in the replies, the question was carefully introduced as follows:

> The divorce process may be a time of unhappiness and stress for some individuals; for others it may bring happiness and relief; for still others it may be a mixture of both. Did you have any of the following feelings or experiences during the divorce process, that is, extending from the point when you first seriously considered divorce up to the present time?

Then followed a randomized series of questions relating to the positive and negative effects throughout the entire divorce cycle. The respondents were first directed, if they had experienced these individual effects to indicate the point in the divorce cycle when each was greatest or most pronounced. The divorce process was envisioned as extending from the point in time when the respondents first seriously considered divorce down to the time of the data collection. It must be stated that this approach contained no

implication that the process had completely run its course by the time we contacted them. Neither was it implied that the divorce cycle inflexibly followed the sequence of stages outlined below, although it was assumed that the sequence outlined would be the modal order in which they would occur. The stages are as follows. (1) Serious consideration of divorce. (2) Final decision to separate or divorce. (3) Final separation. (4) The divorce decree. (5) Now, meaning the time of the data collection when they were contacted. (6) At the end of the stages "never" was added which could be checked by any respondents who did not experience one or other of the specific effects outlined. Thus respondents' freedom of choice was completely assured. The results of this array of questions are presented in the next two sections.

Negative Effects in the Divorce Cycle

Looking first at the negative effects, the data indicate that these were most widespread in the first stage when the respondents were seriously considering divorce. There were 318 reports of negative effects at this stage, the highest incidence in the entire cycle. By the second stage, the final decision, the negative effects reported declined by more than one-half to 138, indicating that once indecision and vacillation had been overcome, some problems ceased, at least temporarily. At the third stage, final separation,

there was an upswing to 224 negative reports, indicating increased difficulties at parting. At the time of the divorce decree, stage four, these reports had subsided to 129, the same level approximately, as stage two, indicating that the decree simply formalized the prior existing situation. At stage five, "now," there was a slight increase over the previous stage to 149 negative reports. Analysis indicated that an important qualitative change among the negative effects had taken place at this point. The incidence of the more serious negative effects (e.g. difficulty working efficiently) had declined. However, this decline was more than offset by an increase among the less serious effects (e.g. increased smoking, and increased use of drugs).

So in summary we can say that the negative effects were most widespread in stage one, serious consideration, followed next by stage three final separation. In the other stages, 2, 4, and 5, they were markedly lower while being approximately the same in all three. That would indicate that the first stage was by far the worst, followed next by the third stage, final separation. The other three stages were not nearly as bad, although bad enough.

These data, and those on the positive effects are presented in Table 35, in ranked order of incidence reported. The positive effects are enclosed in brackets for ease of identification.

TABLE 35

Negative and Positive Effects During Divorce Cycle

	Serious Consideration		Final Decision		Final Separation		Divorce Decree		Data Collection		Total: Consideration Thru Data Collection	
	N	Per cent	N	Per cent	N	Per cent	N	Per cent	N	Per cent	N	Per cent
General irritability or depression	69	38.76	15	8.43	40	22.47	20	11.24	12	6.74	156	87.64
[Feelings of freedom and relief]	4	2.22	10	5.56	22	12.22	32	17.78	84	46.67	152	84.45
Profound feeling of loneliness	33	18.13	19	10.44	42	23.08	22	12.09	37	20.33	153	84.07
Difficulty sleeping	54	29.84	31	17.13	32	17.68	19	10.50	9	4.97	145	80.12
[Feeling of happiness or elation]	5	2.89	10	5.78	19	10.98	12	6.94	89	51.45	135	78.04
Difficulty doing work efficiently	52	28.89	25	13.87	36	20.00	17	9.44	8	4.44	138	76.67
Desire to escape from it all	35	19.66	20	11.24	29	16.29	22	12.36	27	15.17	133	74.72
[Better health than when married]	3	1.81	3	1.81	10	6.02	1	0.60	105	63.25	122	73.49
Increased smoking/drinking	17	9.66	8	4.55	3	7.39	14	7.96	27	15.34	69	44.90
Poorer health than when married	24	13.79	8	4.60	26	14.94	6	3.45	11	6.32	75	43.10
Desire to end your life	31	17.71	8	4.57	6	3.43	2	1.14	5	2.86	52	29.71
Increased use of drugs	3	1.79	4	2.38	10	5.95	7	4.17	13	7.74	37	22.03
[Sum of Positive Affects Σx_1	12	5.92	23	13.15	51	29.22	45	25.32	278	161.37		235.98]
Sum of Negative Effects Σx_2	318	178.23	138	77.21	224	131.22	129	72.35	149	83.91		542.93
[Mean of Positive Affects $\bar{x}_1$	4	2.31	8	4.98	17	9.77	15	8.44	93	53.79		78.66]
Mean of Negative Affects $\bar{x}_2$	35	19.80	15	8.58	25	14.58	14	8.04	17	9.32		60.32
Difference $\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2$		-17.49		-3.60		-4.81		+0.40		+44.47		+18.34

Note: The positive effects are in brackets.

Analysis of the negative effects data, using a matched pairs t-test, indicated that the incidence of negative effects "now" were significantly lower than the average of the earlier four stages combined (T=2.40; P=0.0174).

Incidence of Positive Effects in the Divorce Cycle

Turning now to the positive effects of divorce, the data indicate that the positive effects were indeed rare throughout the first four stages of the cycle, that is, through the time of the divorce decree. There were only 12 reports of positive effects in the first stage. By the second stage, the final decision, the incidence of positive effects had practically doubled to 23 reports. By stage three, final separation, their incidence had doubled again to 51. At stage four, the divorce decree, there was a slight decrease to 45 reports. By the next stage, "now," there was a very dramatic sixfold increase to 278 reports.

Analysis using a matched pairs t-test indicated that the level of positive effects of divorce at the time of the data collection was significantly higher than the average of the preceding levels (T=-13.88; P=0.0001).

Balance of Effects

While in no way implying that the sum of the negative effects on the one hand equals the sum of the positive effects on the other, but simply using them as indicators of trauma and recovery from trauma, a comparison of the two arrays of effects can be used as an indicator of increase or decrease of trauma during the divorce cycle. If we look at the last row in Table 35 we can see the difference between $[x^1]$, i.e., the mean of the positive effects, and x^2, i.e., the mean of the negative effects. The balance during the first three stages is negative, starting with a steep -17.49, indicating widespread trauma, then rising to -4.20 in the second stage, and dropping slightly to -4.84 in the third stage, final separation. At stage four, the divorce decree, there is a slight positive balance of 0.40 which jumps sharply to 44.47 at the fifth stage, "now."

These data would seem to indicate profound trauma, consisting of widesspread negative effects and virtually no positive effects, during the first stage when the partners were seriously considering breaking the ties of marriage. Besides the heartbreak involved in contemplating a breakup, there was the added difficulty of indecision, which can take a very heavy toll on individuals. Indeed, the data indicate that there was an improvement once the indecision was overcome and a definite decision to go for divorce was made in stage two.

The third stage, final or actual separation, was harder than just the decision to separate. Here negative effects were widespread once again. The separation involved loneliness and many adjustments, especially the need to adjust from the pair-relationship to going it alone. At the same time, however, some positive effects were experienced resulting, probably, from being removed from the endogenous push factors and reaching the exogenous pull factors. Other positive effects could result from the discovery that one's own resources were significant, and that what had been feared as impossible without one's spouse, was, in reality, manageable for one female after all.

By the fourth stage, divorce decree, a slight improvement seems to have taken place in the sense that the negative effects had abated markedly, although there was no increase, but rather a slight decrease in the positive effects. By this stage settlements had been made and agreements reached, thus reducing bad feelings. The decree finalized the agreements that had already been worked out, as well as what had taken place at the final separation. However, until the divorce decree took place, the ex-spouses of necessity continued to be involved with each other, probably unhappily, as settlements and agreements were worked out either directly or through attorneys. This state of affairs possibly explains the absence of any increase in positive effects at this stage.

Lastly, after the divorce decree, a dramatic improvement took place, and was evident at the time of the data collection. This resulted from the blooming and blossoming of positive effects, even though the earlier level of negative effects persisted. However, an inspection of the cells in Table 35 indicates clearly that the persistent average level of negative effects resulted from very important shifts in the incidence of individual negative effects. While it is evident that the incidence of loneliness, escapism tendencies and health problems remained almost constant both before and after the decree, nevertheless, the incidence of depression, sleeplessness, difficulty working, and suicidal tendencies all decreased after the decree. But this decrease in these rather serious symptoms was more than offset by increased smoking, drug use and drinking. These increases at this stage may not be true negative effects of divorce. Rather, they may result from the respondents' wider entry into and participation in the competitive and male-dominated marketplace and professions. There drinking and smoking are the norm, and "Excedrin headaches" are plentiful, necessitating the use of drugs.

Significantly, analysis using a matched pairs t-test indicated that the higher balance of the positive over the negative effects at the time of the data collection was significantly higher than the average balance of the earlier stages (mean=1.48; T=9.64; P=0.0001).

It was surmised that this difference or balance would vary by group--that Group IV (those divorced longest) would evidence a much higher balance than Group I (those most recently divorced). When the mean difference between the negative and positive effects "now" was tested by group using a t-test, a statistically significant difference was found between Group I on the one hand, and Group III (T=-2.28; P=0.02) and Group IV (T=-2.56; P=0.01). No significant difference was found between Group I and Group II. This means that the balance of positive effects over negative effects "now" was significantly greater in Group III and Group IV than in Group I. Consequently, in the aggregate, those respondents who had been divorced 12 and 24 months respectively, were significantly better adjusted than those most recently divorced.

So in summary we can say that the firm decision to get divorced brought about the first alleviation of trauma. Before this difficult decision was reached the situation might best be expressed as desolate. But the definitive decision, once made, brought some surcease, and this somewhat abated level of trauma persisted, with only minor variations, through the final decree of divorce. Then, by two months after the divorce a significant watershed in the level of trauma was reached, evidenced by widespread positive effects. The second similar significant improvement had taken place by one year after the divorce.

Stating the same thing positively, some adjustment took place with the firm decision to get divorced. Then, within two months after the divorce had been finalized significant positive adjustment had taken place. Lastly, by the time of the first anniversary of the divorce, further significant adjustment had taken place. The one year mark after the divorce seems to have been the final important stage in adjustment (insofar as our data are concerned) because essentially the same level or situation was found two years after divorce. This may be diagrammed as follows in Figure 3.

As a final observation it would seem that if only negative measures had been used, our findings would have coincided with the conclusions of earlier authors. However, we believe that a more realistic and accurate picture results from the use of both positive and negative effects which enabled us to identify two significant stages in the adjustment, and to conclude that the adjustment cycle may very well be shorter than data used in the past tended to indicate. Of course, we realize that comparing the present with the past is somewhat invidious because attitudes surrounding divorce have not remained frozen any more than the divorce rate itself, and recovery may be more rapid nowadays than in the past.

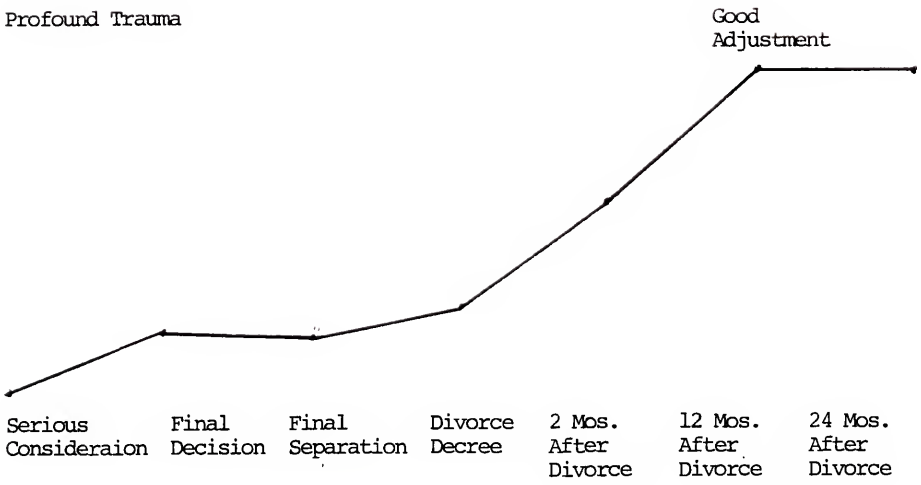


Figure 3:
Level of Trauma and Adjustment
in Divorce Cycle

Note: Only the vertical axis is drawn to scale.

The Most Important Effects in the Divorce Cycle

After the respondents had completed the entire array of questions indicating when the individual effects were greatest, they were then directed to go back and identify the three most important effects in ranked order. We were interested in the most important effect alone rather than all three. However, it was felt that by asking for the three most important ones, the respondents would more carefully weigh them and take greater care in identifying number one, than if they were simply asked to identify just the most important effect alone.

First among the most important effects, by reason of reporting, was the positive effects "feelings of freedom and relief." This was identified by 28.66 per cent of the respondents (N=47) as the most important effect of all for them. In second place came the negative effect "profound feeling of loneliness" noted by 20.12 per cent (N=33). The positive effect "feeling of happiness or elation" came third, identified by 16.46 per cent (N=27) of the respondents. Fourth position went to the negative effect "general irritability or depression" reported by 8.54 per cent of the respondents (N=14). Fifth position was held by the positive effect "better health than when married," noted by 7.93 per cent (N=13). Right behind that came the negative effect "desire to escape from it all" in sixth

place, checked by 7.32 per cent of the respondents (N=12). The relevant data on these and the remaining items are presented in Table 36.

TABLE 36

The Most Important Effects of the Entire Cycle

Effects	N	per cent
[Feelings of freedom and relief	47	28.66][1]
Profound feeling of loneliness	33	20.12
[Feeling of happiness or elation	27	16.46]
General irritability or depression	14	8.56
[Better health than when married	13	7.93]
Desire to escape from it all	12	7.32
Difficulty sleeping	9	5.49
Difficulty doing work efficiently	4	2.44
Increased smoking or drinking	2	1.22
Poorer health than when married	1	0.61
Desire to end your life	1	0.61
Increased use of drugs	1	0.61
Totals	164	100.01[2]

[1] positive effects are within brackets
[2] not 100 per cent because of rounding

In summary, the three positive effects, "feelings of freedom and relief," "feeling of happiness or elation," and "better health than when married" ranked first, third and fifth, respectively, among the most important effects of divorce. These were interspersed with the negative effects "profound feelings of loneliness" and "general irritability or depression" in second and fourth places, respectively, with "the desire to escape from it all" in sixth place. This

indicates that in the aggregate these divorced mothers tended to be lonely, irritable and depressed, and to wish to escape from it all. At the same time they tended to be upbeat about their divorces because they experienced relief, freedom, happiness and improved health, all of which they prized very highly.

Index of Most Significant Effects in the Divorce Cycle

It was decided to construct an index of the most significant effects in the divorce cycle. This was done by combining the data on the incidence of the different individual effects with the data on the most important effects. A sample will serve to illustrate. The negative effect "general irritability or depression" was experienced by 87.64 per cent of the respondents. Then 8.54 per cent identified it as the most important effect. The product of these two percentages give us an index of 2420.05 for this effect. Because of the dramatic change that took place after the divorce decree, it was decided to form two indexes, the first one covering the cycle from the beginning through the divorce decree, and the second one covering the entire cycle through "now." The indexes are found in Table 37 and Table 38.

Looking first at Table 37 the data indicate that the negative effect "profound feeling of loneliness" was the most significant effect in the cycle up to and including the

TABLE 37

Index of Most Significant Effects Through Divorce

Effects	Index
Profound feeling of loneliness	1282.45
[Feelings of freedom and relief	1082.25][1]
General Irritability or depression	683.97
[Feelings of happiness or elation	437.51]
Desire to escape from it all	435.91
Difficulty sleeping	412.52
Difficulty doing work efficiently	176.24
[Better health than when married	81.20]
Increased smoking or drinking	36.50
Poorer health than when married	22.44
Desire to end your life	16.38
Increased use of drugs	8.72[2]

[1]positive effects are within brackets
[2]column non-additive

time of actual divorce. The second most significant effect was the positive "feelings of freedom and relief," followed by the negative "general irritability or depression" and this in turn was followed by the positive "feeling of happiness or elation." Fifth and sixth places were held by the two negatives "desire to escape from it all" and "difficulties sleeping." The placing of the rest of the items may be observed in the table. Suffice it to make the point here that the six most significant effects in this part of the cycle were made up of the four negative effects loneliness, depression, flight, and difficulty sleeping, in first, third, fifth and sixth places, respectively, with two positive effects, relief and happiness in second and fourth

places, respectively. Further, the remaining positive effect, "better health than when married" is found down in eighth place. So, in general, four of the six leading indicators in this part of the cycle were negative. Up to this point, the divorce cycle was primarily a lonely and depressing experience from which those involved wanted to escape. These primary feelings were somewhat tempered by some feelings of relief and happiness.

TABLE 38

Index For Entire Cycle

Effects	Index
[Feelings of freedom and relief	2420.05][1]
Profound feeling of loneliness	1691.49
[Feeling of happiness or elation	1284.37]
General irritability or depression	748.45
[Better health than when married	582.78]
Desire to escape from it all	546.95
Difficulty sleeping	439.80
Difficulty doing work efficiently	187.07
Increased smoking or drinking	54.71
Poorer health than when married	26.29
Desire to end your life	18.12
Increased use of drugs	13.43[2]

[1] positive effects are within brackets
[2] column non-additive

Turning now to Table 38, we can see there that the six most significant effects for the entirety of the cycle were made up of the three positive effects, relief, happiness, and better health, found in first, third, and fifth places,

respectively. The three negative effects, loneliness, depression, and flight, found in second, fourth, and sixth places, round out the set. Consequently, half of the six most significant effects were positive. The upswing after the divorce decree that has already been noted in the data is reflected in these two indexes also. So we may conclude that by the time we contacted the respondents, they had come to view the divorce primarily as a positive experience marred rather significantly by persistent loneliness and depression, and the desire to escape from it all.

The persistence and significance of the negative effects, loneliness and general irritability or depression, come as no surprise. In our society the nuclear family tends to be a relatively isolated unit, and when the structure of that unit is broken by divorce, it is to be expected that loneliness would become a significant factor for the former partners. Further, although the bond between them has been broken, it has not been ended. Loneliness is one of the results of this situation (Weiss, 1975). The significance of the other negative effect, general irritability or depression, probably results from the sense of failure and frustration that accompanies divorce. Marriage had been undertaken because of, or at least in the midst of the romantic love complex. It held the promise and dream of happiness and success. Divorce shattered this promise and dream of happiness and fulfillment, and were replaced by

unhappiness which tends to be expressed in general irritability, and by a sense of failure, which easily lends itself to depression. These in turn breed escapism.

We turn now to the other three most significant effects, the positive ones. The feelings of freedom and relief, found in first place, were most significant for the respondents in the aggregate. Probably this was so because they felt trapped when the marriages began to fail. It is likely that this sense of imprisonment endured until the bonds were finally and formally broken by the divorce decree. Then they felt relieved and free. Next, the feeling of happiness or elation easily follows on the heels of freedom and relief. Happiness and elation are not associated with imprisonment in either the literal or figurative sense, but are associated with release. Further, much unhappiness and depression were experienced in the breakup, and now that the divorce is finalized, the parties are removed from the scene, in both the physical and social sense, of much of the unhappiness. The third positive effect, better health, is an outcome of the foregoing. The link between ill health and stress has been well established, and stress and trauma, as we have seen, formed the warp and woof of the fabric of divorce from its beginning through the final decree. Two more observations need to be made. The data on the first four stages of the cycle were recall data, while those on the fifth stage,

"now," was a reporting on the present. Consequently, the conclusion that the positive excess over the negative in the fifth stage "now" can be assumed to be quite sound and reliable. However, another consideration militates somewhat against any smugness here, and that is what psychologists call cognitive dissonance. The respondents had paid a high price to reach the stage where they were when we contacted them. As a result there was the real possibility that they overstated the positive and understated the negative at that stage.

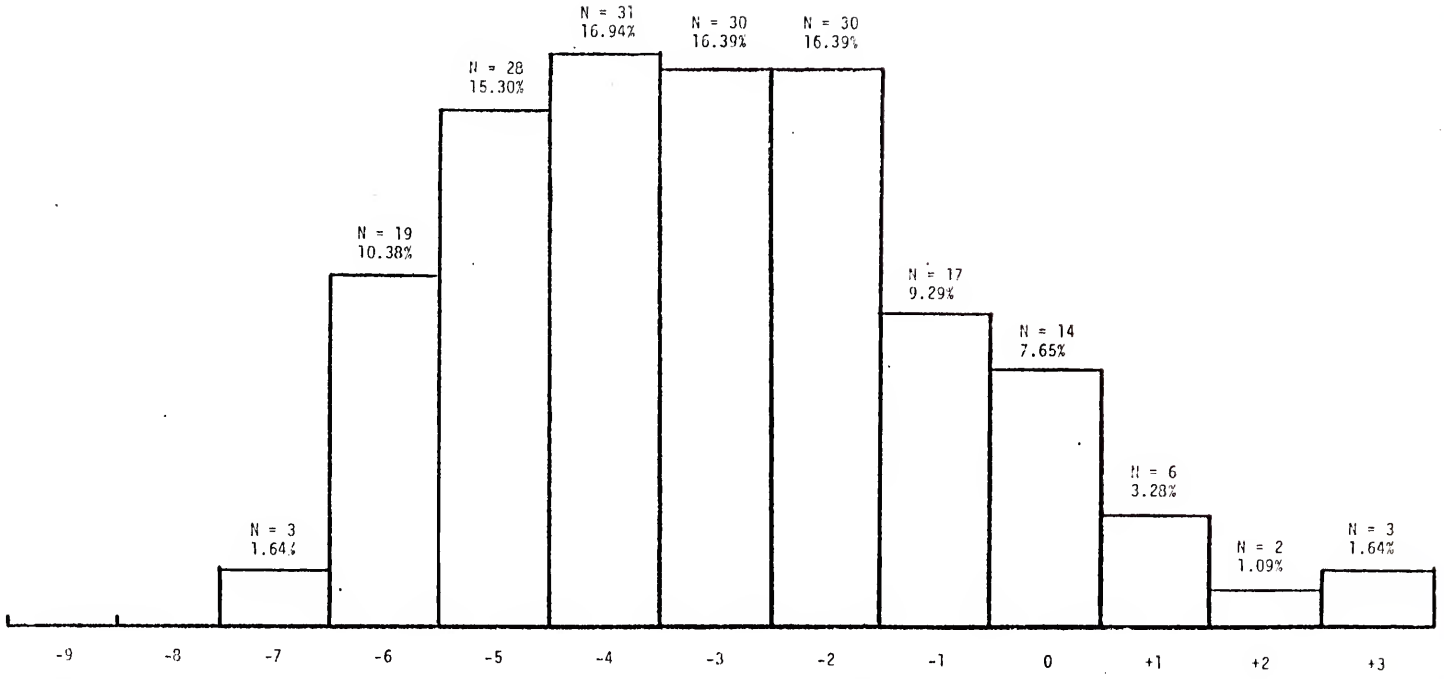
The Trauma-Triumph Scale

Up to this point, the focus of our attention has been the trauma and triumph of divorce viewed in the abstract. Now we will shift our focus from the abstract to the concrete as we analyze the subjects of this trauma and triumph, the respondents.

It will be recalled that nine negative effects and three positive effects were used to measure trauma and recovery from it. The respondents reported experiencing different mixtures or combinations of these effects. Theoretically, the respondents who experienced the worst trauma could have experienced all nine of the negative effects and none of the positive, whereas those who experienced no trauma at all could report having all three positive effects and none of the negative ones. Consequently, through analysis we could

place different respondents at various points between these two extremes, depending on their reporting of negative and positive effects. For this reason it was decided to construct a trauma-triumph scale extending from -9 for those at the worst extreme through +3 for those whose divorce experience was a complete triumph from start to finish. The results of this analysis are graphically presented in the trauma-triumph scale shown in Figure 4.

There we can see that no respondent suffered either of the two most serious degrees of trauma, -9 or -8. Only three respondents, 1.64 per cent, suffered the third worst degree of trauma, -7. Then we find the bulk of the respondents, 155 of them, that is 84.69 per cent, fall between -6 and -1. The modal category is -4 with 16.94 per cent (N=31) of the respondents lying there. This is closely followed by -3 and -2 with 16.39 per cent (N=30) falling in both of these levels. For 7.65 per cent of the respondents (N=14) the divorce experience was neutral as the good cancelled out the bad, giving us a zero category. For the remaining 6.01 per cent (N=11) the divorce experience was a triumph as the positive effects outnumbered the negatives. It will be noted that, while no respondent fell in the two worst categories of the scale, five are found in the two best categories. It is rather fascinating that three of these five reported having all of the positive effects and none of the negative.



Total N = 183

Figure 4: The Divorce Trauma-Triumph Scale

We believe that the use of this trauma-triumph scale holds a definitive advantage over dichotomizing the respondents into just two or three categories as was done in the past. The degrees of trauma and triumph form a continuum and we can successfully place our respondents in their respective places along that continuum, and thus produce a picture that is isomorphic with reality.

In an attempt to establish a profile of the respondents in the various levels or categories of the scale, bivariate regression analyses were performed between the level of trauma-triumph as the dependent variable and 56 independent variables. The independent variables were divided into various categories as follows:

1. Background variables such as place of birth and age of respondents, age at marriage and at divorce
2. All the work and income variables pertaining to the respondents, their ex-husbands and their current husbands
3. Marital variables, such as length of marriage, number of marriages, approval of marriages by significant others, and violence in marriage
4. Offspring variables such as number and ages of offspring, child custody, child support, and child care
5. Divorce variables such as number of divorces, who suggested the divorce, and the agreements made in the

divorce process; also all 16 causes of divorce were included

6. Relational variables, such as the ex-spouse's being in love with somebody else prior to the divorce, frequency of current dating, living together with a man, remarriage, and feelings of ex-spouses for each other
7. Religious variables, such as religious affiliation of respondents, ex-spouses and current spouses, frequency of church attendance, and significance of religion for respondents

Out of this entire array of 56 variables, just four of them were found to be significant in the bivariate analysis. These are presented in Table 39.

TABLE 39

Bivariate Equation of Level of Trauma-Triumph

Independent Variable	F	P
Husband fell in love with another woman	8.91	0.0001
Respondent's religion	2.63	0.0398
Respondent's receipt of child support	4.02	0.0215
Amount received in child support	9.23	0.0032

N=96

Next, multiple regression was estimated of the level of trauma in relation to these four variables in combination. The equation explained 43.02 per cent of the variance in the

trauma-triumph of divorce, and all four of the variables continued to be significant as can be seen in Table 40.

TABLE 40

Multiple Regression Equations of Trauma-Triumph

Independent Variable	b	P
Husband fell in love with another woman	-1.6444	0.0017
Respondent's receipt of child support	-1.0066	0.0298
Amount received in child support	-0.0264	0.0032
Respondent's religion: Jewish	1.2141	0.0445
Other	4.0133	0.0240

N=96

Our findings were as follows:

1. The multiple regression analyses indicated that those respondents whose divorces were "caused" by the ex-husbands' falling in love with other women experienced significantly greater trauma than those respondents whose husbands had not fallen in love with other women
2. Those respondents who always received child support each month experienced significantly greater trauma than those who received it only seldom or never at all
3. There was a significant positive correlation between the amount of child support received and the level of trauma experienced. That is, those mothers who received larger amounts in child support reported

significantly greater trauma than those who received lesser amounts

4. The respondents had been asked to state what church they belonged to by checking one of the following choices: (a) Protestant, (b) Catholic, (c) Jewish, (d) Other, (e) None. The multiple regression analyses indicated that these respondents affiliated with Judaism, as well as those who identified themselves as "other," experienced significantly less trauma than those who were not affiliated with any church at all. The level of trauma experienced by Protestants and Catholics was not significantly different from that experienced by those with no church affiliation

Comments

Our first finding, that trauma was greater in those cases where divorce was "caused" by the husband's falling in love with another woman, is easily understandable in view of the central place held by romance and love in marriage in our culture. When a married spouse falls in love with somebody else, this is a frontal assault on the foundation of marriage. The other party's cherished dreams are dashed, and trust is scarcely possible any more.

Our second and third findings, on child support, at first seemed incorrect because we had anticipated the opposite

findings--that those receiving child support each month would report less trauma than those not receiving it, and that those receiving larger amounts each month would report less trauma than those receiving smaller amounts. For this reason, careful re-analyses were conducted, but each time the findings continued to coincide with the original ones. This led us to interpret the findings as follows.

In the literature it is repeatedly asserted that no divorce involving children is ever final, because ongoing and new arrangements and situations involving the children force the ex-spouses into repeated communication and interaction with each other. Our findings support that assertion, and suggest that the reception of child support every month keeps alive the upset of divorce.

Further, the larger the amounts actually paid in child support, the more traumatic the divorces tended to be for the ex-wives. This may result from either of two sources: (1) The greater the amount involved in child support, the more the ex-wives depended on it, and the more they feared losing it. (2) High child support payments were probably a function of the ex-husbands' high income. During the marriages, these men were good breadwinners who provided well for their families. As such they have been lost to their families through divorce, and the ex-wives suffered serious anxiety and trauma over this loss, and tried to remedy the resulting situation by getting the maximum in child suport.

Up to this point in these comments, we have been treating trauma as the dependent variable--we have assumed that the level of trauma resulted from the payment and level of child support. However, our data do not enable us to say which was cause and which was effect--the child support payments or the level of trauma. Contrary to our assumption up to this point, the level of trauma may have been the independent variable or cause. In some cases, or indeed in all cases, for that matter, the profound trauma evinced by the wives may have moved the husbands to agree to, and influenced the courts to enjoin high child support payments. Further, this very same high degree of trauma displayed by the ex-wives may have so affected the ex-husbands that they also paid the child support faithfully each month.

In contrast with these ex-wives who suffered serious trauma, the other ex-wives who received little or no child support at all and who suffered less trauma may have become independent and self reliant, as well as self supporting. Thus perhaps, it was possible for them to have more positive effects and fewer negative ones. In other words, they were able to view divorce in terms of triumph rather than trauma, as a vehicle to personal independence and freedom.

Lastly, moving on to our findings on religious affiliation, we find ourselves at a loss to explain these findings. We had anticipated finding a higher level of trauma among Catholics on account of their church's strong

opposition to divorce. However, the data indicated that their trauma was no greater than that of Protestants and those with no church affiliation. Perhaps Catholics were helped by receiving superior counseling and help, similar to that reported in the review of the literature (see Kressel et al., 1979). Further, we had expected to find least trauma among those with no church affiliation because of being free from religious biases against divorce. However, this we did not find, as already indicated. Instead, we found least trauma among the Jews as well as those who identified themselves as "other."

Summary

Using both negative and positive effects to measure trauma and adjustment we found that in the first stage of the divorce cycle trauma was profound. This was evident in the most widespread incidence of negative effects and the rarest incidence of positive effects. Compared with this first very bad situation we found that, quantitatively, in the aggregate stages two, three, and four (i.e., final decision, final separation, and divorce decree) were about one-quarter as bad, resulting from a combiation of less trauma (fewer negative effects) and measurable adjustment (more positive effects). By two months after the divorce we found that a significant improvement had taken place, resulting not so much from fewer negative effects, but

rather from a dramatic display of positive effects. The respondents were still feeling measurable pain, but this pain was far outweighed by the benefits that they associated with the divorce. This level of adjustment persisted without any significant change through the six-month point after divorce.

By twelve months after divorce, another similar dramatic improvement had developed. This twelve-month level seems to have been most significant in the sense that after another additional year no further significant change was found.

Having used a total of nine negative and three positive effects to measure trauma and adjustment, our data indicate that the respondents perceived our three positive effects plus three of the negative effects as the most significant in the divorce cycle. These six are contained in ranked order in the following list.

1. Feelings of freedom and relief
2. Profound feeling of loneliness
3. Feelings of happiness or elation
4. General irritability or depression
5. Better health than when married
6. Desire to escape from it all.

Consequently, the respondents tended to present an overview of divorce as a mixed experience of good and bad with the good slightly outweighing the bad.

We found that our respondents were fairly close to being normally distributed along the trauma-triumph scale. Some of the skewednes resulted from the fact that no respondent was found in either of the two lowest categories. The scale enabled us to place the subjects along the trauma-adjustment continuum rather than simply dichotomizing them.

Analysis by multiple regression indicated that the respondents who were highest on the trauma-adjustment scale were Jews and "others." Those who were lowest on the scale had the following combination of characteristics.

1. They were victims of triangles. While they were still married, their ex-husbands fell in love with other women
2. They received child support every month
3. They received relatively large amcunts in child support each month

CHAPTER XI
REMARRIAGE

Introduction

In this chapter we will take a brief look at remarriage after divorce. We will establish the number of respondents who had entered new marriages, and present their evaluation of the new marriages compared with the former ones. Next, relevant information on the new husbands will be presented. Lastly, the reaction of the children to the remarriages, as seen through the mothers' eyes will be recorded.

Number of Remarriages

Of the 203 divorced mothers who took part in this survey, 13.30 per cent (N=27) had remarried by the time of the data collection. Interestingly, two of these women remarried their ex-husbands.

Remarriages Compared with Former Marriages

When asked how their present marriages, in general, compared with their former ones, 88.89 per cent (N=24) said the remarriages were better, 7.41 per cent (N=2) saw them as about the same, and lastly, 3.70 per cent (N=1) said it was worse than the former marriage. So, with one solitary

exception, all of them rated their remarriages as better than or as good as their former marriages.

The majority of the remarried respondents perceived the experiences of their former marriages as helpful to them in their new marriages. Almost two-thirds, 65.39 per cent, felt that those experiences made it easier for them to get along in the new marriages, and 15.39 per cent felt that those experiences made no difference. The remaining 19.23 per cent said that it was harder to make the new relationships work because of the experiences they had in the former marriages. Regrettably, we do not know whether the former experiences were good, the memory of which made the new, present experiences poorer by comparison, or whether the former experiences were bad, leaving scars in the form of personality and /or relational problems.

Realizing that "ghosts" of the former marriage and spouse can haunt the new relationship, the remarried respondents were asked if they and their present spouses argued about the former marriages and spouses. It would appear that such "ghosts" were quite rare, at least up to this point in the new marriages. It must be recalled that all of these remarriages were less than two years' duration at the time of the data collection. None said that they had frequent arguments, and just 29.63 per cent (N=8) said they did have arguments, but only seldom, and the remaining 70.37 per cent (N=19) said they never had any such differences at all. One

could argue both ways about this problem in the future of the new marriages. First, one could take the position that it was to be expected that such problems would arise but rarely during the early, honeymoon phase of the remarriages. Later on after the romance has faded, then such arguments and problems could be expected to surface. On the other hand, one could argue for a bright future for these remarriages, postulating but little romance and much realism in embarking on remarriage. As the result of this realism, it could be held that potential problems resulting from the former marriages were already worked out before entering the new marriages and very unlikely to surface again.

Birthplace of New Husbands

As might be expected, 81.48 per cent of the husbands in the remarriages were born in the United States, followed next by 14.82 per cent born in Cuba, while the remaining 3.70 per cent were born in other foreign countries. This pattern is very similar to that found among the former husbands.

Education, Occupation, and Income of New Husbands

Slightly over one-third of the new husbands, 36.42 per cent, were reported to have some college education, followed next by 23.08 per cent with college degrees, and another 23.08 per cent with graduate or professional degrees.

Unlike the former husbands, none of the new ones had no formal education, and only 3.85 per cent had only grade school educations, while the remaining 15.39 per cent had high school educations.

The new husbands reflect a higher status in the occupational world also. The lowest occupation reported was that of operative, with a mere 4.00 per cent in this category. Next on the occupational ladder, 24.00 per cent were craftsmen, and 12.00 per cent, clerical. The highest proportion, 36.00 per cent, were managerial, and the remaining 24.00 per cent, professional.

The remarried respondents gave their new husbands very high marks for steady work. More than nine-tenths of them, 92.59 per cent, said their new husbands were steady workers, never experiencing any layoffs at all, and the remaining 7.41 per cent reported they were steady workers, apart from unavoidable layoffs. In spite of this superior work record and higher educational and occupational attainments, the median income of these new husbands did not measure up to that of the ex-husbands. As we saw in chapter 7, the ex-husbands' median income was $300.00 a week, whereas that of the new husbands was only $250.00 a week.

The Children of Divorce and Remarriage

The remarried respondents were questioned about the effects that the new marriages had on the children. Their responses were certainly upbeat, with 70.37 per cent (N=19) saying that the children were happier now than before, and an additional 25.93 per cent (N=7) saying they were as happy as they ever had been. Only 3.70 per cent (N=1) said the children were unhappy with the new marriages.

Summary

We found that only 13.30 per cent of the respondents had remarried by the time of the data collection. The overwhelming majority of those who had remarried gave a positive assessment of their new marriages. Practically nine-tenths of them said their new marriages were better than the former marriages, and almost two-thirds of them felt that the experiences they had in the old marriages benefitted them in their new relationships. This was further borne out by the fact that only a little more than one-quarter of the remarrieds ever argued with their new husbands about their former husbands. Further, these reported arguments occurred only rarely.

Regarding the new husbands we found that, when compared with the former husbands, they had more education and higher professional status, and better work records. However, their median income was lower in spite of their better track record.

The reports indicated that the remarriages benefitted the children involved. Somewhat over two-thirds of the children reacted positively to the remarriages by being happier than they had been, and an additional one-quarter of them accepted the remarriages with equanimity. They appeared to be as happy as ever after the remarriages. Less than 5.00 per cent reacted negatively, being unhappy with the remarriages.

CHAPTER XII
PERSONAL COMMENTS OF RESPONDENTS

Introduction

When we were constructing the questionnaire, a friend said: "You better leave some space at the end for these women to add their own comments, because a lot of them will feel the need to do so." Our friend had more insight than we had. Somewhat reluctantly we used her suggestion and left the final page of the questionnaire blank, apart from an invitation for additional comments printed on the top. Our skepticism was changed to happy surprise when we found that 60.00 per cent of the respondents did indeed add their personal comments. These comments add deeper insight into our earlier findings, and this chapter will be devoted exclusively to a discussion of these comments. Consequently, this chapter will be qualitative rather than quantitative.

The Causes of Divorce

Many of the respondents in their comments primarily elucidated on the causes of their divorces. All told, 20.51 per cent of them dealt with these. With only three exceptions, none of the respondents gave simply one factor as the cause of divorce. Instead, reflecting real life, they outlined poignantly a number of causes. The following excerpt, which has been modified only to preserve anonymity (as will be done with all other excerpts), will serve as an example. This respondent got married in her early twenties to a man of her own age. Eight years later, by which time she was the mother of two children, she got divorced. Her comments are excerpted as follows:

> Throughout the entire marriage we argued frequently, and at times I thought of the possibility of divorce, but never gave it serious thought. I always thought of growing old with my husband and I felt that "we argue but we love each other." I trusted him completely though he traveled a lot. Then one night he did not come home, and three days later the same thing happened again. He told me he was confused about his feelings for me. I thought this was the end of the world. Soon I found out that he was drinking, and this became more and more obvious to me, my friends and relatives. He would come home anytime between 3 and 5 a.m.--or not at all. Still I felt I wanted to work it out, and that I should be there when he needed me since he showed signs of becoming an alcoholic. As time passed he got more and more violent . . . and I thought only of how to please him, and avoided everything that would upset him, to the point of me getting sick over even the car breaking down, since he would blame me and he would get all upset with me. I lost weight and cried till I was on the verge of a nervous breakdown.
>
> I found make-up on his shirt twice, and once a motel room key in his pocket. But he always had

> explanations. All the hurt for two and a half years totally saturated me until I did not even care anymore, and fell out of love with him.
>
> For the last six months it was torture for I was physically afraid of him. . . . When he finally did leave the relief was totally indescribable. . . . I do not regret the two years of misery because I feel I did everything possible to save the marriage for me and the children.

It is obvious that this respondent suffered much pain and anguish for a long period prior to the separation and divorce, and it is rather difficult to read the account without being moved to compassion.

Among the many causes she outlined were infidelity and violence. We discovered that all of the respondents who wrote of their husbands' infidelity also told of violence in the marriages. It may well be that when infidelity is discovered the ensuing rage, anger, and unhappiness are such that violence is almost inevitable. The following is taken from the end of a horrific account of brutal insensitivity and infidelity on the part of the husband:

> He committed a sodomy act on me and almost choked me to death. I filed for divorce when our twenty-one-year-old daughter and I saw him go into a gay bar and then to a motel with a young guy.

Lack of Communication

Exactly one quarter of the respondents who enlarged on the causes of their divorces saw lack of communication within the marriage as a central problem. This inability to communicate seemed to set in at a very early stage of the

marriages where the couples got married when they were still young. After the initial fascination with sex palled, they found they had scarcely anything else in common to communicate about.

Others outlined a lack of communication growing out of the husbands' bossiness and lack of respect for the wife's opinions. "My husband never felt anything I had to say was worth listening to" was a typical comment. Others indicated that the communication problem was more extreme --the husband did not let the wife speak at all. "He did all the talking and then would not let me speak. Everything I did or said angered him."

Others indicated that the breakdown in communication followed on the heels of money problems. The following will illustrate.

> The main problem was that my ex-husband was extremely foolish with our money. He invested all of it in speculative ventures without my knowledge and lost it all, and then borrowed money, again without my knowledge. . . . I lost faith in him because of this. He knew and felt my resentment. This changed our relationship, and our spirits toward each other went bad. He became angry and blamed me for everything. I could not talk to him about anything. He became super-sensitive and stayed away a great deal, and then he got involved with another woman which he vehemently denied when I asked. He married her one and a half months after the divorce.

This husband knew he had failed and used the guilt-transference tactic by blaming his wife for everything that went wrong. He was not alone in that. Others wrote about this same phenomenon. Here are the words used by one other

respondent: "A lot of his own sins and guilt were projected onto me. He couldn't take a good look at himself so the blame was shifted onto me."

It would be misleading to leave the impression that the respondents saw themselves as faultless. Indeed, they freely acknowledged that they were not perfect. One respondent put it in a straightforward manner in these words: "Not that I was not at fault in many areas. The Lord has shown me that."

Early Marriage

Getting married at too young an age was seen as the root difficulty by almost as many respondents as those who wrote about lack of communication. They tended to indicate that they were convinced that they too were too young before and at marriage to be aware of the existence of the various types of personalities, some of which are incompatible with each other. Likewise, they were unaware of the importance of the backgrounds of each spouse. These two elements proved later to be the sources of many difficulties.

Others indicated that difficulties set in later as the result of one partner maturing faster than the other. Sometimes the partner who was the slower of the two to mature felt overwhelmed, and even began to regress. The following passage gives an example of this: "As the years went by I believe I matured but he did not. Eventually he could not cope with everyday life or responsibilities."

Non-support

A sizeable number gave non-suport by the father as the prime cause of divorce. This non-support resulted from drinking and getting involved in singles clubs and the like. But sometimes this neglect was accompanied by gross insensitivity and callousness. The following will illustrate. This mother was in her early thirties and was the mother of two. She had been married 13 years and had just recently been divorced. Besides suffering the effronteries related in the excerpt, she was also the victim of severe violence in marriage.

> On _____[date given] my son was laid to rest. He was ill for almost eight months, and during that time his father, my ex-husband, treated the child as if he didn't hurt. I ached for the child day and night. I worked till the child got so sick I had to stay home to take care of him. During that time his father didn't contribute one penny to help me. For that reason, and when he started to abuse me, I decided to divorce him. Also, the woman he had, had no respect for me nor my sons. The kids are all I have, and I am sorry I had to divorce my husband, but I am glad I did it.

The Marriage Penalty

Earlier, we made reference tc the phenomenon of couples getting legal divorces because of the "marriage penalty" in the tax laws and Social Security regulations. Such couples continue to live together. The next excerpt was written by one such person. This excerpt is presented not only to exemplify this phenomenon, but also to show that love and happiness can flourish under less than ideal conditions.

> My . . . husband is now disabled. However, we were forced into this divorce by the crazy Social Security law. May I say that the almost seven years I have spent with William have been the happiest years of my life, and it keeps getting better.

Children and Divorce

A survey of the comments indicated that the children played two distinct and opposite roles as far as getting divorced was concerned. In some cases the divorce was postponed through many unhappy years until the children were of age, and in other cases it was encouragement from the children that enabled hesitant mothers to go ahead and decide on divorce. The former situation is illustrated in the following excerpt:

> My husband and myself, . . . we just had completely different philosophies and never really agreed on anything. Our marriages continued until our children were old enough for us to feel free to separate. We both feel better going our own ways.

The next excerpt illustrates how the children played a positive role in bringing about the actual divorce:

> My divorce was a long accumulation of attitudes. I never considered a divorce until I got one, and it was only then that I realized that I did not want to spend another 20 years like our situation had been. Our sons really were the deciding factor. My oldest son (age 19) said he would not leave me and my younger son (age 13) without support. We are all better off as things are now.

A number of respondents expressed a fact which we find in the literature--that no divorce, where children are involved, is complete. They also voiced their concern or

hope that the father would continue to be a father to the children. The following comes from a mother who had just been recently divorced. She had one child of kindergarten age.

> Divorce when you have children is not complete. It's important to me that my daughter maintain a normal, as much as possible, relationship with her father which means that I have to see him as often, and discuss matters pertaining to her. He wants more control in her life (he says for her benefit) which then affects me: school, clothing, place of residence, kind of work I do and on and on.

The foregoing excerpt shows that even when both parents want the father to continue his parental role, difficulties are involved. These difficulties, of course, take on a greater magnitude when either parent is only an unwilling cooperator.

In some cases the father severed all connections with the children. The mothers expressed regret over this situation, but tended to see the fathers as the losers in the situation, rather than the children. The following is excerpted from the comments of a woman in her early fifties who had been divorced two years. She had two children in their late teens. "I just wish he [the father] could have some kind of relationship with our children, but there is none. But in the end that is his loss."

Other respondents really resented being left all alone to take care of the children: "I am very resentful because when divorce takes place the father loses all interest in the children."

In some cases the father *in absentia* becomes a better parent. The following tells of this phenomenon and gives us an interpretation. The respondent is in her early thirties, had two young children, and had been divorced six months.

> Although I have custody of the children they stay with their father three nights a week. We both take an active part in their schooling and leisure activities. If good things come from a divorce I would say that their father is a better parent after the divorce. Before, he had to take part in their lives, and now he enjoys doing so.

Although it is usually the father who walks out, and the mother is the one who receives custody of the children, that is not always the case. The following was written by a woman in her early forties who had three sons in their late teens and early twenties. She was divorced one year. She suffered a great deal at the hands of her husband in the latter years of the marriage until desperation enabled her to walk out. The husband got custody of the children. However, after a short time one of the children came to live with the mother. "It's a hard life but I do not regret what I have done. After 25 years I walked out and left my husband and three sons. I had many good years of marriage but I should have left sooner."

Respondents' Assessments of Divorce

Earlier in this work, when we studied the trauma and triumph of divorce, we found that the respondents were fairly normally distributed along the divorce trauma-triumph scale. For some, the divorce experience was traumatic, for others it was a triumph, and for the majority it was a combination of both in various mixes.

It is our intention to trace a series of pictures of divorce, starting at the worst extreme, then moving through the various mixed experiences until we arrive at the optimum evaluation of divorce, by presenting excerpts from the respondents' personal comments.

Divorce Was a Trauma

The first two excerpts focus on the shock of divorce and on the fact that it was a devastating experience--with two contrasting outcomes ensuing after the divorces. "Since this happened to me [the divorce] I've learned to start thinking about myself and my life. It was a great shock and I doubt I will ever forget this experience for the rest of my life."

The above was written by a 50-year-old woman who, after over 20 years of happy marriage, was abruptly divorced by her husband after he had fallen in love with another woman. The divorce had taken place just two months prior to the survey. The shock of the divorce had turned this woman in on herself as she worried about her future.

The next quote shows the resilience of the human spirit, and in particular that of the female, in the face of a devastating experience. This respondent was in her late 30s and had been divorced one year. Her husband also had fallen in love with another woman prior to the divorce. "Although this divorce was devastating it has shown me that I possess inner strength that I did not know I possessed."

Next we hear from a woman divorced two months, who entered her second marriage in her early 40s and got her second divorce in her mid-50s. She shows evidence of missing the pair-relationship, and of profound sadness and perhaps despair. She presents insight into the trauma that can accompany failure and divorce.

> I'm still foundering quite a bit. Sometimes I want a man to take care of me. Someone to lean on. Other times I'm glad to be my own person. I don't know if I'll ever really believe again in marriage. There is no tomorrow--only today. I'm too old to believe in forever after. Too much has happened. Twice divorced is hard for me to live with--it really hurts a lot. I'm not bitter at all, but I'm realistic and saddened-- terribly terrribly saddened.

This lady was not alone in perceiving a stigma and/or evidence of failure in being twice divorced. Younger women also expressed the same feelings after being divorced twice or more.

A number of respondents indicated that they found the thought of divorce and its prospect to be so difficult and frightening that they suffered through years of unhappiness in marriage before eventually taking the step. They all

regretted the delay even though the divorce did not land them in a bed of roses. The following is from a woman in her mid-40s who had been divorced one year. "It's a hard life [being divorced] but I do not regret what I have done. After 25 years I walked out . . . but I should have left sooner."

The next respondent had been divorced for two years and she still regretted the delay, seeing it as having been bad not only for herself, but for the children, too. "I should have been brave enough to get a divorce ten years ago. I certainly would have been better off and so would my sons."

Divorce Was Both Trauma and Triumph

The excerpts to be presented in this section show that the divorces were mixed experiences for these respondents. First, we hear from a mother in her mid-30s who had been divorced one year. She presents the contrasting and contradictory feelings that have been hers. "Although it seems contradictory, I am enjoying my life much more since my divorce but at the same time my biggest problem is being lonely. By lonely I mean not having someone to share my feelings and thoughts with."

Next, we have a 40-year-old mother of three children who had been divorced just two months. She outlines the material and emotional losses and difficulties she suffered, on the one hand, but she obviously esteems her new freedom and independence, and responds with optimism and joy.

> I feel like I'm still in a process of transition. I've had to adjust to a series of losses; first emotional, now material, i.e., a way of life. Feelings of insecurity and inadequacy rise up, but somehow they are always overcome by optimism, hope, and even joy. My ability to adjust has always been good and so far continues to hold true. Above all, I value my freedom to be me. I've discovered that I really am my own best friend. My self-esteem has never been greater. Life may prove harder but I've never felt more alive.

From her final statement above, it is obvious that she rose to the challenge of a new life after divorce. This was reflected in the comments of many other respondents.

Many of the respondents who had mixed emotions about their divorces felt the same way about their former marriages. The following was written by a mother of three children, in her mid-30s. She tells of the good and the bad in both the marriage and the divorce.

> I don't feel that my 14-year marriage was a waste--we had more good times than bad. I made a good choice at the time, but he changed so much he was not even remotely like he was. I cannot forgive him for his shabby treatment of me and our three super children. Yet, this event has not made me bitter toward men. I found me--a more well-adjusted person who has done an excellent job of surviving in the worst possible circumstances.

Divorce Was a Triumph

Some respondents wrote in strong terms about their divorces, while others were moderately strong in their praise of their divorces. They felt this way about their divorces for different reasons. Some had miserable marriages and divorce was an escape to happiness. Others

were glad of their divorces because of the newfound support and help offered by their parents and siblings, friends, and children. Still others saw divorce as the door to a new future. To others, divorce brought peace, happiness, and contentment. And to others it brought a new, good husband.

The first extract is taken from the comments of a mother of three in her mid-50s. She had been divorced two years. She had been married in her teens and her marriage lasted almost 40 years. Her comments need no elucidation.

> I look back at my divorce as one of the most positive acts of my life. Basically I am a happy, fun-loving individual who, in the marriage, was squelched, unable to breathe freely. I felt more like a slave than a human being. Also, I certainly did not like the abuse (verbal) directed at me, nor the abuse (verbal and physical) directed at the children.

Next we hear from a mother of two, in her mid-30s. Her marriage lasted four years, and she was six months divorced at the time of the survey. She is filled with confidence as she looks forward to her career, and feels closer to her children than before.

> I am now settled down and feel I have a lot to look forward to in my career. I have more confidence in myself, and my children are very supportive of me. We (the two children and I) are a stronger unit since the divorce. I am proud that I can handle a family, job, friends and dating.

Next we present one comment which sounds like a song of happiness from a respondent. "I have all the support of my family and friends, and I am financially in good shape, and I am thinking of marrying a nice man whom my children approve of."

Lastly, we have a respondent who tells us nothing about family, friends, money, nor anything else. She doesn't have to as she reveals her heart to us: "I feel at peace, happy, and content."

The Postdivorce Adjustment Cycle

In the data on adjustment presented in an earlier chapter, we saw that the most important significant adjustment or improvement took place about one year after the divorce. This is very clearly mirrored in a comparison of the comments of respondents divorced two and six months with those divorced 12 and 24 months. A review of the excerpts already presented in this chapter would show this. It is rather interesting that some of the respondents themselves who were divorced a year or more wrote about this significant adjustment. The next excerpt will serve to illustrate.

> My first year was difficult emotionally, but after that I feel like I passed a turning point. I'm incredibly happy and elated most of the time. I have my freedom and I have life. People turn me on--all kinds of people. The world has opened up for me. My job is very satisfying psychologically (the pay could be better, but for now it's fine). I'm challenged and appreciated and have a lot of hope for the future. I'll go back to school again in the near future. I feel I can do anything.

Some achieved this adjustment through their own inner resources with informal help from family and friends, and they felt no need of help from professionals. The next respondent that we quote is from their ranks. With self-assurance and great directness she writes:

> 1. Do not waste your money paying any counselor or psychologist. Talk to friends and keep doing what you used to do. 2. Try not to be alone. 3. When he takes the children do not stay home waiting for him to return with the children.

On the other hand, some sought and successfully found professional help to facilitate their adjustment. We give one example of such a comment: "The greatest influence in my life since my separation has been the help of a psychiatrist. He helped me to understand what qualities I looked for in a man and why they were wrong. I have completely reversed my qualifications for a new husband."

Three Special Problem Areas

It became apparent that these divorced women tended to experience recurrent relational problems after divorce. These problems fall into three general categories which will be dealt with individually. They are presented in random order, so there is no implied ranking by importance nor incidence.

Cessation of the Pair-Relationship

During their years of marriage, the respondents had been socialized to discuss, decide, and perhaps also do most things with their husbands. Responsibilities and worries were shared, as well as dreams, victories and failures. Many of them may even have come to view life through their husbands' point of view. Through divorce all of that is

ended, and the ability, or rather the habit of going it alone and shouldering all responsibility in stride does not come automatically. However, being independent has its own recompenses which the respondents recognized in the midst of their diffculties. The following is representative and illustrates both points. It was written by a mother of two school-age children. She had been divorced for two years after a marriage of 11 years. She experienced this difficulty even though she made the major decisions in marriage.

> After having been married, I find my biggest problem is not having someone to share with. Although I made the major decisions in my marriage, I miss not having someone to affirm or even discuss my decisions about the children, house, etc., with. Example: My son broke his jaw recently, and I felt so lonely facing the situation by myself in the hospital waiting room. However, the rest of my life is much more content. Example: It's nice to be able to lay [sic] down and go to sleep when I feel like it.

No Recognition of Women's Independence and Talents

Stereotypically, the male sexist regards himself as the superior, with the female inferior, of little worth apart from whatever usefulness she may offer. However, male sexism aside, because of the male-dominated culture we live in, it is probable that only a minority of men truly regard women as their equals, and probably fewer recognize that some women are indeed superior in talent and application. Many women also share the same outlook, selling themselves

short. All of this can create a sea of troubles for well-informed and self-aware females in ordinary circumstances, but even more so in divorce when they have to go it alone. This is reflected in the following words of a 31-year-old mother of one. She had been married for ten years and divorced one year.

> I have been forced to be extremely independent and self-reliant from the beginning of my marriage to the present time. I would like someone to respect this, yet care enough to relieve some of the pressures it causes. (Someone, as in a personal relationship.)

Women who are successful in the business world seem to have been especially aware of this situation. However, they tended to see it simply as a situation rather than a problem. Their talents and the self-assurance that comes from success probably account for this. These women were especially appreciative of the worth of other women. The following was written by a very talented woman in her late 40s. She had been married for almost 30 years. The marriage rather drifted into divorce as the result of very unique circumstances. The divorce was the beginning of a completely new life for her--she achieved spectacular success in business.

> Because of the nature of my work and my activities I know and meet many single men. I truly know so many interesting and challenging women that I only date if the male evokes tremendous interest. I will remarry if I find a true companion, who shares my interests physically, intellectually, and emotionally.

The Divorcee Seen as Sex-object

Feminists have vociferously objected to society regarding females as sex objects. This objection is more than justified since this seems to be a pervasive phenomenon in our culture and popular literature. The literature of sociology indicates that the divorced female is very likely to be regarded as a sex object since it is assumed that she is sexually experienced but now sexually deprived. Some of the respondents were trenchant in their remarks as they objected to experiencing this phenomenon. Wrote one who had been divorced two years: "All the men I have met have just one thing in mind and that is bed. At the present time all I want and need is someone to be pals with, doing things together, dancing, dining, swimming, and gardening."

Others tended to see themselves as contributing to this situation through their inexperience and vulnerability. A woman who had been divorced six months wrote:

> I feel I started my pursuit of happiness too soon after the separation and was extremely vulnerable to men, not having dated for 22 years. I find dating is 75 per cent game playing and this is an objection. Also, I find meeting men (without any thoughts of matrimony on my part) is at best the most difficult frustrating encounter. I find that interesting, intelligent men my age are a rarity. Most of my men-friends are six to nine years younger than I.

Respondents' Assessments of Marriage

Even though many respondents had been through terrible experiences in their marriages, and some felt that, primarily because of their ages or because of successive failures in multiple marriages, they would not remarry, no respondent expressed disdain for the institution of marriage and the family. Rather, when relevant feelings were penned they were all positive, and some expressed envy of those intact families that they knew or encountered. The following expresses it poignantly.

> I still suffer a great emotional sadness when I see intact families. The death of my family unit at my own hand is a very painful reality that exists alongside my elation at having my own life. My children are much happier now. . . .They are remarkably well adjusted and seem happy with the arrangement.

Some gave their understanding of what marriage ought to be, sometimes stating or at least implying that their's did not measure up. Further, they expressed their belief in marriage, and their disdain of swingers. The following serves as an example: "Marriage should be based on a 50-50 deal. Both working, playing and building for a future. I believe in marriage, not a free lifestyle. My ex woke up too late!!"

Some respondents offered their prescription for trying to ensure a successful marriage. Emphasis on common background and similar interests, likes, and dislikes were widely mentioned. Also, some advocated living together on a trial

basis before marriage, and still others said they were doing precisely that with apparent success. The next two excerpts aptly illustrate these viewpoints. The first was written by a mother of three in her early 30s. It is perhaps significant that she had married in her teens. "I think that people who are considering marriage should think of living together for a while before getting married or undertaking any legal confinement-- at least for one year. And you must have some or most all things in common that you like to do together."

The next was written by a 30-year-old mother of two children. Her marriage lasted for slightly less than ten years, and she had been divorced for one year. She was the victim of violence in marriage, which, understandably, led her to attach supreme importance to the wise selection of a mate. However, obviously her bad experiences in marriage did not turn her against marriage. "I plan to remarry around the first of next year. I am presently living with a wonderful man who has been my friend for about a year and who has already proved to me to be a good mate for me as well as a good father for the children."

Recommendations Offered

A few suggestions for improving the questionnaire were kindly offered by some respondents. We will just briefly touch upon these here.

This survey did not delve into the quality of the sexual relationships between the spouses. This was noted by some respondents in their comments and thought it was an important omission. Here is an example: "I am surprised that questions regarding personal hygiene and physical relationships were not included in this study since so many divorces today are involved in these problems."

While this survey attempted to measure both the trauma and triumph in divorce, the approach used could have been better balanced and the positive adjustment could have been probed with greater care. This too was noted. One respondent put it as follows: "More questions which would chart the healing process would be more precise."

Respondents' Attitudes Towards Survey

No respondent betrayed any negative attitude or reaction to the survey. However, several proferred positive comments and volunteered further cooperation if such were needed. Here is an example:

> I will be most happy to help with any further questions or/and elaborate on any of the questions in this questionnaire. At our mutual convenience I will meet with you or talk on the telephone. My most convenient hours are afternoons, between _____ and _____ [time given].

Several expressed thanks for being selected for the survey. "Thank you for selecting me for this study. Good luck!"

Many expressed the hope that they had been helpful: "I sincerely hope that I have been of some help to you--and good luck in your work. Best regards."

Divorce: A Source of Growth and Discovery

We have seen the resilience of the human spirit even in the trauma of divorce. Most of those who suffered profound pain and shock turned it around and drew good from bad. We would like to conclude this chapter by presenting in its entirety the message typed in by one respondent who had been divorced one year. It is so positive, revealing and profound that it deserves to be shared:

> I have overcome many taboos of my mother's generation. I have realized I can accomplish many things and have the courage to live and learn. I also have learned that it's OK to be wrong, in fact, it's human not to be perfect. Through my own study of people in general, I feel more people lie because they can't face the fact that they are human and inclined to make mistakes even in this day and age of perfection. Too bad people don't realize this. More people breakdown because of this terrible burden they think they must carry around with them. Being truthful with oneself is far more important and healthier.

CHAPTER XIII
FINDINGS COMPARED

Introduction

In this chapter a summary and comparison of some of the salient data and findings of Goode's survey and ours will be presented. When making these comparisons it is important to keep in mind that differences may arise from any one or all of the following sources. (1) There may have been change over time. (2) There was sampling variability in both surveys which used relatively small samples. (3) The two studies utilized different definitions of the populations studied, different modes of data collection, and different wording of the questions. (4) The surveys were conducted in different cities. For these reasons it is important not to overinterpret the differences in the data.

We will start with methodology. Next, background and selected marital variables will be compared. Then the education, work records, and incomes of the respondents and their ex-husbands will be examined. Then we will look at the antecedents and causes of divorce as well as the level of trauma reported in both surveys. The chapter will be rounded out with three short sections on prejudice and discrimination, remarriage, and the children of divorce.

Unlike the other chapters, there will be no summary at the end of this chapter, insofar as the entire chapter is a summary of sorts of the two surveys.

Methodology

In this section a comparison of the salient elements of the methodology used by Goode and by the present investigator will be presented.

Data Collection

Goode collected his data in 1948. The data for this present survey were collected in the summer of 1979, and in January and February 1980.

Place of data collection. Goode collected his data from mothers divorced in metropolitan Detroit, whereas the respondents of this survey received the dissolutions of their marriages in Dade County, Florida.

Data collection mode. Goode's data were collected by interviewers using a prepared questionnaire. In our survey, questionnaires were mailed out to prospective respondents who had already agreed on the phone to take part.

Population

Goode's population consisted of divorced mothers between the ages of 20 and 38 years, whose divorces had been processed in the Detroit metropolitan area. No age limits were placed on the population of the present survey. All divorced mothers whose marriage dissolutions had been processed in the Miami-Dade Metropolitan Court Civil formed the population for this survey.

Sample

Both surveys used stratified samples. The samples were divided into four approximately equal strata or time groups as follows in Table 41. Goode used data supplied by 425 respondents, whereas the number of respondents in this present survey was 203.

TABLE 41

Stratified Samples of Goode's and Reid's Surveys

Strata	Goode	Reid
	Length of Time Divorced	
Group I	2 mos.	2 mos.
Group II	8 mos.	6 mos.
Group III	14 mos.	12 mos.
Group IV	26 mos.	24 mos.

Background and Selected Marital Variables of Respondents

In this section data from both studies will be presented on the background of the respondents, along with data on certain marital variables.

Age

As already noted, Goode placed age limits of 20-38 years on his respondents, whereas no age limits were imposed in this study. The actual range of the respondents' ages in this survey was 22-62 years.

Age at Marriage

Table 42 presents the comparative data on the respondents' ages at marriage. The mean age at marriage of Goode's respondents was 19.5 years, compared with 24 years in this study. This age disparity is a function of the upper age limit placed on Goode's respondents, and also of the fact that more than a quarter of our respondents had been married more than once. These gave their ages at the time of entering their last marriages rather than their first ones.

TABLE 42

Respondents' Ages at Marriage

	Goode	Reid
	Years	
Age range at marriage	15-30	14-50
Mean age at marriage	19.5	24

Times Divorced

It seems that all of Goode's respondents had been divorced but once. In our survey 73.63 per cent had received one divorce, 22.39 per cent two divorces, 3.48 per cent three divorces, and 0.50 per cent had been divorced five times. This difference between the two sets of respondents may be explained in great part by the high incidence of divorce, remarriage, and redivorce in recent years, together with the absence of an upper age limit on our respondents.

Length of Marriage and Age at Divorce

In Goode's study the mean length of marriages was 8.7 years, and in ours the mean was 13 years. The lower mean in Goode's data results from the upper age limit, as well as one other important factor that was present in his study due to the fact that he collected his data right after WWII. "There is a difference in duration of marriage for those who were married to veterans. Marriages to veterans lasted a mean of 8.0 years as against 10.1 years for nonveterans" (Goode 1956:103).

The ages of our respondents at divorce ranged from 21-60 years, and their mean age at divorce was 37 years. The mean age at divorce of Goode's respondents was 28.7 years.

Race and Country of Birth

In Goode's sample the proportion of blacks was double that found in our survey, as can be seen in Table 43.

TABLE 43

Racial Characteristics

Race	Goode	Reid
	per cent	
Black	19	9.90
White	81	89.60
Other	--	0.50
Totals	100	100.00

Goode did not collect data on country of origin of his respondents. Instead he concentrated on their rural-urban background. He found that 70 per cent of his respondents were of urban origin, 22 per cent came from small towns, and 8 per cent had rural backgrounds. Because ours has become an urbanized society, it was decided in our survey to forego rural-urban information, and instead to concentrate on the country of origin of our respondents on account of the peculiar composition of the population of Miami, containing as it does so many immigrants from Cuba and Haiti.

Four-fifths of our respondents, 80.30 per cent, were born in the United States, 11.33 per cent were born in Cuba, and the remaining 8.37 per cent were born in other foreign countries.

Religion

Goode collected data on the religious preferences of his subjects. We asked ours for their religious affiliation. The relevant data are presented in Table 44.

TABLE 44

Religious Preference/Affiliation of Respondents

Religion	Goode	Reid
	per cent	
Protestant	58	41.12
Catholic	32	25.38
Eastern Orthodox	1	0.00
Jewish	3	19.29
Other	6	1.01
None	0	13.20
Totals	100	100.00

Our sample contains smaller proportions of Protestants and Catholics, but these are offset by the higher proportion of Jews and of those with no religious affiliation. Miami has one of the largest Jewish populations in the country and this is reflected in our sample. While we found that 13.20 per cent of our respondents had no religious affiliation, Goode had no such category. Consequently, no valid comparison can be made here.

Church Attendance

Table 45 presents the data on church attendance of respondents.

TABLE 45

Church Attendance of Respondents

Frequency of Attendance	Goode	Reid
	per cent	
Weekly	32	20.10
Occasionally	41	52.26
Never	28	27.64
Totals	101[1]	100.00

[1]not 100 per cent because of rounding

The data indicate that the proportion of respondents who did not attend church at all was the same in both surveys, approximately 28.00 per cent. A comparison of the other two categories indicates that weekly church attendance was approximately 12.00 per cent lower in our survey, while occasional attendance had increased by about the same amount. This may be explained, at least in part, by the shift among Catholics from weekly to occasional attendance since the Second Vatican Council, which was held approximately two decades ago.

Education, Work Records, and Incomes Compared

In this section we will first examine the education levels attained by the respondents and their ex-husbands, and this will be followed by a scrutiny of their reported incomes.

Then we will focus on the respondents of both surveys, examining their work records, both during the marriages and after the divorces. Similarly we will examine their incomes both before and after divorce, paying special attention to alimony and child support.

Education Attained by Respondents and Their Ex-Husbands

Tables 46 and Table 47 present the comparative data on the educational levels of the respondents and their ex-husbands. It is clear that the respondents and their ex-husbands in our survey had attained much higher levels of education than their counterparts in Goode's. While only 8.7 per cent of Goode's respondents had advanced beyond high school graduation, 75.54 per cent in our survey had done so. The second table contains a similar picture of the two groups of ex-husbands. In Goode's sample only 12.9 per cent of the ex-husbands had advanced beyond high school, while 73.50 per cent in our survey had done so.

TABLE 46

Education of Respondents

Level of education	Goode	Reid
	per cent	
Graduate school/post graduate professional training	0.0	17.82
College graduate	1.9	23.76
Some college	6.8	34.16
High school	77.1	21.78
Grade school	14.1	0.99
No formal education	0.2	1.49
Totals	100.1[1]	100.00

[1]not 100 per cent because of rounding

TABLE 47

Education of Ex-Husbands

Level of education	Goode	Reid
	per cent	
Graduate school/post graduate professional training	0.0	16.00
College graduate	3.5	24.50
Some college	9.4	33.00
High school	59.3	21.50
Grade school	24.8	3.50
No formal education	1.4	1.50
Unknown	1.7	0.00
Totals	100.1[1]	100.00

[1]not 100 per cent because of rounding

Ex-Husbands' Work Records

Table 48 presents the comparative data on the work records of the ex-husbands of the respondents of both surveys.

TABLE 48

Work Records of Ex-Husbands

Work Record	Goode	Reid
	per cent	
Always had work	49	84.16
Always had work except for unavoidable lay-offs	20	3.96
Frequent lay-offs	13	4.46
Never worked for long periods	17	7.42
Totals	99[1]	100.00

[1] not 100 per cent because of rounding

The ex-husbands in the first two categories of the table had perfect or very good work records--they always worked, or they always worked when it was possible to do so. In Goode's study only 69 per cent of the ex-husbands had that good a record, compared with 88.12 per cent in our survey. This is a difference of practically 20 percentage points. If we look at the first category alone--those who always had work--the contrast is even more extreme with a 35 percentage point difference. Then if we look at the worst category--those who never worked for long periods--we can see that the proportion of Goode's subjects is more than double that of our survey, 17.00 per cent vs. 7.42 per cent.

Ex-Husbands' Incomes

The median income of the ex-husbands during the marriages in Goode's study was $52.00 per week (mean=$58.00). Goode's assessment of their income was as follows: "The average wage was about that of the semi-skilled factory worker" (Goode, 1956:69). Their reported weekly income represented an annual income of $2,700. This represents just 79.41 per cent of the $3,400.00 median annual income of married-couple families in the U.S. in 1950 (Statistical Abstract of the United States 1981:438).

The ex-husbands in our survey had a median income of $300.00 per week (mean=$440.00), after taxes had been deducted, during the last year of their marriages (i.e., 1977-1979). This represented an annual income of $15,000.00. This is 72.56 per cent of the $21,000.00 median annual income of married-couple families in the U.S. in 1979 (Statistical Abstract of the United States 1981:438). This means that our respondents were earning a somewhat smaller proportion of the national income than Goode's respondents were-- 72.56 per cent vs. 79.41 per cent.

If we convert the incomes reported in Goode's survey into constant (1979) dollars we find that the ex-husbands in that survey had a reported annual income of $8,260.00 (1979 dollars) compared with the $15,600.00 (1979 dollars) in

ours. This mirrors the improvement in the standard of living in our country since WWII. The national median income of married-couple families in 1950 was $10,400.00 (1979 dollars) vs. $21,500.00 in 1979.

Respondents' Work Records

Table 49 presents the comparative data on the respondents' work records during their marriages.

TABLE 49

Respondents' Work Records During Marriage

Work Record	Goode	Reid
	per cent	
Full-time	51	50.74
Part-time	21	17.24
On and off	00	23.65
None	28	8.37
Totals	100	100.00

Great caution must be used in attempting to interpret the data in this table. We used a separate category for those respondents who worked intermittently, either full-time or part-time, and 23.65 per cent fell in that category. That distinction is not contained in Goode's data. Of those listed in his data as having worked full-time, some did so all of the time, others only on and off. The same is also true of his part-time workers.

However, we can safely make these two comparisons. Of Goode's respondents, 72.00 per cent reported having worked either full-time or part-time, all of the time or intermittently. The same is true of 91.63 per cent of our respondents,--a difference of 20 percentage points. In Goode's study, a full 28.00 per cent reported that they never held a job at all during marriage, compared with only 8.37 per cent in ours--again a difference of 20 percentage points.

It seems clear that appreciably more of the mothers in our survey worked during their marriages than those in Goode's. This may mirror the trend of more and more married women participating in the workforce. In 1950, 52.10 per cent of working women were married. By 1970, that proportion had climbed to 63.40 per cent (Berardo, 1982:4)

Table 50 contains the comparative data on the respondents' work records at the time of the data collection of both surveys.

A comparison of the data in the last two tables reveals that opposite trends in each survey took place after divorce. In Goode's study the respondents tended to leave the workforce after the divorce. Those reporting not working at all climbed sharply from 28.00 per cent to 43.00 per cent, and those working part-time dwindled from 21.00 per cent down to 6.00 per cent. The proportion working full-time remained steady at about 50.00 per cent. In our

TABLE 50

Respondents' Work Records at Data Collection

Work Record	Goode	Reid
		per cent
Full-time	52	79.10
Part-time	6	8.96
On and off	0	0.50
None	43	11.44
Totals	101[1]	100.00

[1]not 100 per cent because of rounding

survey the opposite trend is revealed. Reports of full-time work jumped from 50.00 per cent to 80.00 per cent, while reports of part-time work were halved, and reports of intermittent work became practically non-existent. A mere 3.00 percentage point increase is found in our study among those not working compared with a 15 point increase among Goode's.

So in Goode's data we find a clear swing after divorce from part-time work to no work at all, with those working full-time remaining constant. In our data the clear swing is from part-time and intermittent work to full-time work, with those reporting no work remaining constant.

Respondents' Incomes

Our respondents reported a median take-home pay of $170.00 (mean $188.00) per week during the last year of their marriages. Goode, either by design or oversight did not collect similar data from his respondents, even though he did establish their work records during marriage, as we have already seen. However, when we move on now to the data on the respondents' incomes at the time of the data collection we do have comparative figures which are presented in Table 51.

TABLE 51

Respondents' Earnings at Data Collection

	Goode	Reid
Median weekly pay	$41.00	$185.00
Mean weekly pay	--	$203.00

We can see that in absolute terms of actual dollars earned, our respondents reported about four-and-a-half times as much as that reported by Goode's. Needless to say, we must keep in mind the changes in the standard of living, the cost of living, inflation and devaluation of the dollar, that have taken place through the intervening decades.

Our respondents reflected an increase of $15.00 weekly from the time of their marriages to the time of our survey. That is an increase of 8.82 per cent over the passage of

time. Of course, we cannot say how that compares with the experiences of Goode's respondents on account of the missing data.

Needless to say, some divorced mothers had other sources of income apart from their personal earnings. There may have been savings and property as well as alimony, child support, welfare, and financial help from family and other sources. Those who had remarried had their new husbands' incomes as well. Table 52 presents comparable data on the respondents' total amount of money available to live on, or to meet expenses, on a weekly basis, at the time of the two surveys.

TABLE 52

Respondents' Total Available Money Per Week Now

	Goode	Reid
Remarried:		
Mean	$80.00	$520.00
Median	--	$500.00
Not remarried:		
Mean	$44.00	$266.00
Median	--	$230.00

Our remarried respondents reported a weekly mean of $520.00. This is six-and-one-half times as much as the $80.00 reported by their counterparts in Goode's survey. Our respondents who had not remarried reported a weekly mean

of $266.00. This is six-times as much as the $44.00 reported by Goode's corresponding respondents. Consequently, there is a very close parallel between the financial situation of our remarried and non-remarried respondents and the corresponding groups in Goode's survey.

Looking at the data in another way, we found that our non-remarried respondents had available only 51.15 per cent of the resources reported by their remarried counterparts. Goode's non-remarried respondents had slightly more available. Their total resources equaled 55.00 per cent of the resources reported by their remarried counterparts. Consequently, since Goode's time the financial situation of non-remarried divorced mothers has apparently not changed very much vis-a-vis their remarried counterparts. This lack of change is all the more striking in view of the fact that practically every one of our non-remarried respondents were working full-time whereas a goodly proportion of Goode's were not. Further, many of our respondents were receiving alimony but none of Goode's were.

If we use the mean incomes of the ex-husbands as the basis of comparison in assessing the financial situation of the respondents at the time of the two surveys we will be able to see whether the overall financial situation of mothers after divorce has improved or deteriorated over the decades. The relevant data are contained in Table 53.

TABLE 53

Ex-Husbands' Incomes and Respondents' Total Finances

	Goode		Reid	
		per cent		per cent
Mean income of ex-husbands	$53.00	100.00	$440.00	100.00
Mean finances of remarrieds	$80.00	150.94	$520.00	118.18
Mean finances of non-remarrieds	$44.00	83.02	$266.00	60.45[1]

[1]columns non-additive

We will first examine the data on the remarried respondents. The figures indicate that the mean of the total financial resources reported by Goode's remarried respondents equaled 150.95 per cent of their ex-husbands incomes. In our survey the mean of the remarrieds' resources equaled only 118.18 per cent of their ex-husbands' incomes. This is a decrease of 32.76 percentage points, indicating that the financial situation for remarried mothers, in relative terms, may have deteriorated over the past three decades.

Turning now to the data on the respondents who had not remarried, we can see that the mean of the total resources reported by Goode's non-remarried respondents equaled just 83.02 per cent of the ex-husbands' incomes. Our non-remarried respondents had to get by on 60.45 per cent of their ex-husbands' mean income. This is a difference of

22.57 percentage points. Consequently, the financial situation for non-remarried mothers also appears to be worse in our survey.

Alimony and Child Support

We found in our survey that 24.00 per cent of the ex-husbands were enjoined to pay alimony. The data indicated that the payments were always made in 85.71 per cent of the cases, and usually paid in 5.71 per cent of the cases. They were paid seldom or never in 8.57 per cent of the cases. The mean of the monthly alimony payments was $453.00 (median $300.00). In contrast, "In Michigan there is no alimony. . . . All husbands are by law responsible for their children's support unless they are adopted by others" (Goode 1956:162). Consequently, there is no basis for any further comparison regarding alimony.

However, both surveys contain data on child support which we will now examine. Table 54 reveals that 86.00 per cent of the Detroit respondents reported that their ex-husbands were enjoined to pay child support. This is 16.54 percentage points higher than that reported by the Miami mothers. This difference may be explained in part by absence of alimony in Michigan, and also by the fact that a higher proportion of the Michigan mothers reported having no jobs after the divorces compared with our respondents--43.00 per cent vs. 11.44 per cent. It is our assumption that the

respective work records were approximately the same at the time of the divorces and when the data were collected.

TABLE 54

Ex-husbands Enjoined to Pay Child Support

	Goode	Reid
	per cent	
Ex-husbands enjoined to pay	86	69.46
Ex-husbands not enjoined to pay	14	30.54
Totals	100	100.00

The data in Table 55 indicate that the record of the ex-husbands in Miami in regard to the actual payment of the child support allotments was far better than that of their counterparts in Detroit. By collapsing the first two categories we can see that in our survey 82.17 per cent of the respondents reported receiving the child support payments either always or usually. This compares with only 49.00 per cent in Goode's study. By combining the last two categories, the other side of the coin is revealed. In Goode's study 51.00 per cent of the respondents reported receiving the payments only once in a while, or seldom or never. This compares with just 17.83 per cent in our survey.

The better record of child support payments mirrored in the latter survey may be explicable in terms of different enforcement of the courts' injunctions.

TABLE 55

Frequency of Child Support Payments by Ex-Husbands

Frequency Paid	Goode	Reid
	per cent	
Always	35	73.64
Usually	14	8.53
Once in a while	11	--
Seldom or never	40	17.83
Totals	100	100.00

In our survey the median child support payment per month was $200.00 (mean $250.00) compared with a median of $48.00 in Goode's study.

The Antecedents of Divorce

In this section we will compare some of the data on the antecedents of divorce. We will compare the information in both surveys on who first suggested the divorce, the stability or instability of the decision to get a divorce, and the amount and type of counseling that the respondents received.

Who suggested Divorce?

Table 56 presents the comparative data on which spouse first suggested divorce. In both studies it was the wife alone who made the first suggestion in somewhat over 60.00 per cent of the cases. It was the husband alone who took the

initiative in about 25.00 per cent of the cases. In Goode's study 13.18 per cent reported that both spouses together made the first suggestion, but in ours, only 8.00 per cent did so.

TABLE 56

Who First Suggested Divorce?

Spouse	Goode	Reid
	per cent	
Wife alone	62.11	64.00
Husband alone	24.71	28.00
Husband and wife	13.18	8.00
Totals	100.00	100.00

Stability of Decision

Table 57 contains the comparative data on whether the spouses changed their minds about procuring a divorce, and if this change was frequent.

TABLE 57

Stability of Decision to Divorce

	Goode	Reid
	per cent	
Changed mind frequently/several times	21	18.95
Changed mind rarely	12	35.79
Changed mind never	67	45.26
Totals	100	100.00

By collapsing the last two categories in the table we can see that approximately 80 per cent in both surveys changed their minds rarely or never, once they had decided on divorce. The remaining one-fifth reported frequent changes of mind, reflecting continuing difficulty with the prospect of divorce.

Consequently, we can find little or no difference between the two sets of data on who first suggested divorce and on the stability of the decision to divorce.

Counseling before Divorce

Table 58 contains the comparative data on how many received counseling prior to divorce, and the type of counselor consulted by those who did receive counseling.

TABLE 58

Type of Counselor Consulted

Type	Goode	Reid
	per cent	
Friend of the Court	14.0	--
Pastor, priest or rabbi	5.4	11.44
Social work agency	4.0	7.46
Physician	3.3	--
Marriage clinic	--	14.93
Other	3.0	11.44
No counseling	71.0	54.23
Totals	100.7[1]	99.50[1]

[1]not 100 per cent because of rounding

A glance at the last category indicates that 71.00 per cent of Goode's respondents, and 54.23 per cent of ours, received no counseling prior to divorce. The situation in Goode's study was even worse than these figures indicate, because those who listed Friend of the Court as the counselor, typically got no counseling at all. "Most of the supposed 'counseling' [by Friend of the Court] at the time of [the] study consisted in (a) recording the fact that both parties were adamant, and (b) ascertaining whether the home situation of the wife might be judged good enough to continue as the abode of the children" (Goode 1956:156). Consequently, it would be more accurate to state that 85.00 per cent of Goode's respondents received no counseling. So, a mere 15.00 per cent of his respondents received counseling, compared with 45.27 per cent in our study.

An examination of the table indicates that, apparently, there were no marriage clinics available to Goode's respondents, whereas almost 15.00 per cent of our respondents had availed themselves of their services. Next, back in Goode's time some physicians were playing the role of marriage counselor. It would appear from our data that that practice may have ceased. Lastly, our data indicate that higher proportions of our respondents availed themselves of all of the other sources of counseling available.

The Causes of Divorce

In this section we will discuss the findings on the causes of divorce. In both surveys, the causes of divorce have the same meaning, that is, those factors which, in the wife's opinion, caused or contributed to the divorce proceedings. In Chapter 5 of this study we defined these as the personal causes of divorce.

It will be recalled that in our questionnaire 14 possible causes of divorce were listed, to be appropriately checked by each respondent. Then this list was followed by an invitation to write in any further causes applicable. These additional causes fell into two clear categories, no love, and no communication.

In Goode's survey, the interviewers asked the respondents: "Would you state, in your own words, what was the main cause of your divorce?" This was followed by this directive for the interviewer: "Try to get an accurate statement. Probe: Anything else? Is this about what HE would say? Then read it back to her." The vast body of replies to this question had to be coded into various categories. Some of these categories coincided with some of ours. Others were approximately the same. In some cases, two or more of his categories coincided with one, two, or more of ours, and vice versa. To appreciate the situation, in the following subsections we will excerpt from Goode's own explanation of his coding, and match up our categories

with his wherever possible. The title of each subsection is the term or phrase used by Goode for each of his categories of causes.

Drinking--Any Mention

> If a wife made any mention of her husband's drinking, whether she complained of excessive drinking or merely that he went to the beer garden, this was coded as "Drinking--any mention." Thus the category is broader than a complaint that "her husband drank too much." (Goode 1956: 116)

In our survey we listed excessive drinking as a possible cause of divorce. In the questionnaire it read, "My husband drank too much." Obviously this has a narrower meaning than Goode's category. It was narrowed down to problem drinking as perceived by the wife.

Desertion

> If the wife complained that the man ran away with another woman, this was classified as Desertion (as well as Triangle). . . . Other responses that were classified as desertion are some of the following: "Desertion--left home suddenly." "He left me for five years." "After all, he never came back from the Army." (Goode 1956:117)

In our survey desertion was given a narrower, very specific meaning, unlike the rather broad meaning that Goode attached to it. It coincided directly only with the first part of Goode's meaning: "the husband ran off with another woman," and that is how it was stated in our questionnaire.

Relatives, Conflict with

> Responses were placed in this category if by statement or context the claim of conflict with relatives is made, for example: "His mother finally told me to leave, so I left." "His stepmother hated me." (Goode 1956:117)

In our survey we had a counterpart, in-laws, with exactly the same meaning. We called it "trouble with in-laws" in the questionnaire.

Triangle--Another Woman

> We limited the triangle category to those cases in which another specific woman was mentioned as having a love and/or sex relationship with the husband. We included also those cases in which the husband had actually gone with several women, but the wife viewed the case as involving one definite woman, sometimes one with whom the wife had actually caught the husband. (Goode 1956:117)

We used triangle in the very same sense. In the questionnaire it read: "My husband fell in love with another woman."

The Complex--"Drinking, Gambling, Helling Around"

> The coding difficulty [here] lies in the fact that in the case of any given husband not all of these items may be mentioned Consequently, we adopted this arbitrary rule: If the wife complained of "running around" or "other women," that response was categorized as "the Complex." On the other hand, if these key phrases were not used we required that her response contain at least two of the following complaints before including it in this category: (1) staying away, (2) drinking, (3) gambling, (4) out with the boys. (Goode 1956:117)

In our study we used four distinct items to cover the various aspects contained in Goode's Complex. (1) Infidelity. This was stated in the questionnaire as follows: "My husband was running around with other women." (2) Excessive Drinking, which in the questionnaire appeared as follows: "My husband drank too much." (3) Gambling. This was expressed in the questionnaire in the following words: "My husband spent all our money, e.g., on gambling, etc." 4. The Boys. In the questionnaire this read as follows: "My husband was always running around with the boys."

Miscellaneous

> We have included in this class (1) some highly idiosyncratic cases, (2) cases of physical defects, (3) complaints of venereal disease, (4) triangle in which the wife was the guilty party, and (5) cases of unwanted but forced marriage because of premarital pregnancy . . . (6) felonies by the husband, leading to penal sentences, and (7) sexual problems. (Goode 1956:118)

We had no specific counterpart listed in our questionnaire. However, we did take into account the possibility of such listings as those above when we invited the respondents to list any additional causes not included in our list. However, it may be recalled that these specifics that were added by our respondents fell into two clear categories: no love and no communication.

Nonsupport

> If she [the wife] complained that he [the husband] would not work, or that he would not bring his paycheck home . . . [or] that he "failed to provide a home for the family," the response was considered "Nonsupport." (Goode 1956:120)

Our direct counterpart for nonsupport was no support, which appeared in the questionnaire simply as follows: "My husband failed to support us." Another cause which we listed as blame, correlated closely with no support. Since Goode had no direct counterpart for blame, we will include it here. Blame in the questionnaire was stated as follows: "My husband was always blaming me for everything."

Consumption

> He [the husband] may be charged by the wife or "throwing money around," being wasteful, or gambling his money away. We labeled charges of this type "complaints about consumption behavior." (Goode 1956:120)

These complaints are subsumed under three of our causes of divorce: (1) Excessive drinking, (2) Gambling, (3) Neglect. In the questionnaire this last read: "My husband neglected us and never stayed home."

Values--Harmony and Integrity of Values and Behavior

> Husband and wife disagreed about the right style of life, education, manners, entertainment, the arts, religion, etc. Also in this class are to be found those complaints in which lack of harmony is expressed, but little detail was given: "We couldn't get along." "We couldn't agree on anything." "Intellectually, he wasn't satisfying." "There were misunderstandings all the time." (Goode 1956:121)

Our approximate counterpart was disagreements, which appeared in the questionnaire in the following words: "My husband and I could never see eye to eye and get along."

Authority: Dominance over Wife

> The complaints in this category of "Authority" are specifically to the effect that the wives were not allowed to run things in their own way or to make decisions as they chose, and instead had to cater to their husbands' wishes. (Goode 1956:122)

Our counterpart was bossiness. It was stated in the questionnaire thus: "My husband was bossy, impossible, and overbearing."

Home life: Lack of Affect for Home and Occupants

> Here the complaint was that the husband simply showed little interest in the home, the children, or the wife. . . . This is a range of behavior, from cases of apparently complete disinterest in the home and wife to simple refusals to go out with the wife. . . . Typical responses [include]: "He never seemed to care for the children." "He didn't want the children." "He would not take me anywhere." "He did not seem to love me at all." "He showed no interest in being married." (Goode 1956:122)

Our close counterpart was no love.

Personality

> Here . . . we classified the item as "Personality" if the wife used terms which clearly indicated her belief that the fundamental problem was one of personality. In the main this kind of comment was of the following type: "He was emotionally immature." "Our personalities were just incompatible." "Neither of us ready to get married--our personalities clashed." "He was irresponsible, couldn't settle down." "He wasn't

> reliable." "Change in my husband's attitudes and personality after being overseas in the war." "He had moody spells and didn't talk to me for months at a time." (Goode 1956:123)

Our closest counterpart was disagreements, which in the questionnaire read: "We could never see eye to eye and get along."

Additional Causes

Our survey and findings contained three additional causes for which Goode had no counterpart. (1) Further education, which read: "I wanted to continue/resume my education." (2) Career, which read: "I wanted to carve out a career for myself." (3) No communication, which category arose out of the witten-in comments of the respondents. The absence of the first two of these causes in the earlier survey reflects the change that has taken place in the female population over the past three decades as more women, both single, married, mothers, and divorcees have begun pursuing professionalism and higher education. The no communication cause may be the result of the increased awareness of the need for positive, constructive communication within marriage. This realization or awareness may have been a result, in part, of wider counseling received by our respondents.

In Table 59 the comparative data on the causes of divorce are presented. Some explanatory comments are in place before moving on to examine the data. In each category we

first list Goode's term, followed by our term in parentheses, e.g., Authority (bossiness).

TABLE 59

The Causes of Divorce

Cause	Goode	Reid	
	per cent		
1. Values, 21.00%; Personality, 29.00% (Disagreements)	50	68.57	(2)
2. Nonsupport (No support, 28.13%; Blame, 51.48%)	33	79.61	(1)
3. Authority (Bossiness)	32	45.40	(3)
4. Home life (No love)	25	23.65	(6)
5. Triangle (Triangle)	16	32.05	(4)
6. Desertion (Desertion--narrower meaning)	8	18.92	(7)
7. Relatives (in-laws)	4	24.03	(5)
Complex, 31.00%; Drinking, 30.00%; Consumption, 20.00% (Infidelity, 47.59%; Excessive drinking, 32.70%; Gambling, 23.18%; Neglect, 40.48%; The boys, 26.42%)	81	170.37	
Miscellaneous	12	--	
(Career)	--	25.00	
(Further Education)	--	24.14	
(No communication)	--[1]	12.81[1]	

[1]columns non-additive)

Where we had to combine two or more categories together, they are listed one after the other, and each one is followed by its proper percentage, e.g., Values, 21.00 per cent; Personality, 29.00 per cent.

The first seven categories, comprising the ones that can be accurately compared, are presented in ranked order of

incidence as they were found in Goode's data. Their corresponding position in our data is indicated by a number in parentheses at the very end of the line. Of course, the items that don't bear comparison were eliminated from this ranking.

It will be noted that three of Goode's categories, i.e., complex, drinking, and consumption, and five of ours, i.e., infidelity, excessive drinking, gambling, neglect, and the boys, had to be combined because of overlapping definitions. This is somewhat regrettable since it makes individual comparisons impossible.

If we compare the two rankings of the seven individual causes that bear direct comparison in the table we find a remarkable fit. In first place in Goode's data we found values and personality. Our counterpart for these was disagreements, which ranked second in our data. In second place in Goode's was found nonsupport. Our counterparts were no support and blame, which ranked first in our data. In third place in both surveys came authority, or bossiness as we called it. Suffice it to say here that the rankings of the other four variables can be observed in the table.

If we add the two percentage columns of these seven variables we find that Goode's total equaled 249, while ours was 462.60, indicating that the reporting or incidence rate in our survey was practically double that of Goode's. Does this mean that the incidence of the causes of divorce had

doubled in the intervening decades between the two surveys? Maybe, but that is doubtful. Probably a better explanation is to be found in the different modes of data collection. Ours contained a prepared list which facilitated checking, and jogged memories. In contrast, Goode had his interviewers ask this question: "Would you state, in your own words, what was the main cause of your divorce?" Here the constructor of the instrument fell into what we call the journalistic sandtrap of seeking the monocausal explanation. And even though the situation was somewhat redeemed by the added directive: "Try to get an accurate statement. Probe: Anything else? Is this about what He would say? . . . ", the course had been initially set for the monocausal explanation, and probably many respondents responded accordingly. Some interviewers were perhaps satisfied with this. Further, this narrow approach was repeated in the directive itself: "Try to get an accurate statement." Here the singular was used rather than the plural "accurate statements."

The Trauma and Triumph of Divorce

In this section we will present the comparative findings on the trauma of divorce. Our data on the triumph of divorce will also be presented briefly.

Goode used seven symptoms or indices to measure the trauma of divorce. They are (1) profound feeling of

loneliness; (2) poorer health than when married; (3) difficulty sleeping; (4) increased smoking; (5) increased drinking; (6) difficulty doing work efficiently; (7) memory difficulties. We also used the first six of his, combining, however (4) and (5) into one: increased smoking and drinking. We did not use (7), memory difficulties. Instead, because of the fact that our society has become aware of the high incidence of depression, and since memory difficulties are typically a symptom of depression, we used instead this item: general irritability or depression.

To these we added the following three symptoms. (1) Desire to escape from it all. We used this because flight, and where flight is impossible, the desire to escape, are well established symptoms. (2) Desire to end your life. This was added because just in recent years has it become recognized that people in deep trouble are assailed with thoughts of suicide. This was not even admitted in the past. (3) Increased use of drugs. This was introduced because ours has become a drug-dependent society. Besides these symptoms of trauma, we also used three positive items to measure recovery and adjustment, as was explained in Chapter 10.

Table 60 presents the comparative data on trauma (and the data on adjustment). First listed are Goode's measures, ranked in descending order of incidence. At the end of each line the item's ranking in our data is indicated in

parentheses. Of course, our items that could not be compared were eliminated from this ranking.

TABLE 60

Indices of Divorce Trauma and Adjustment

Symptom	Goode	Reid	
	per cent		
1. Profound feeling of loneliness	67	84.07	(1)
1. Poorer health than when married	67	43.10	(5)
3. Difficulty sleeping	62	80.12	(2)
4. Increased smoking or drinking	46	44.90	(4)
5. Difficulty doing work efficiently	43	76.64	(3)
Memory difficulties	68	--	
General irritability or depression	--	87.64	
[Feelings of freedom and relief	--	84.45]	[1]
[Feeling of happiness or elation	--	78.04]	
Desire to escape from it all	--	74.72	
[Better health than when married	--	73.49]	
Desire to end your life	--	29.71	
Increased use of drugs	--[2]	22.03[2]	

[1] positive effects are enclosed by brackets
[2] columns are non-additive

The two items, profound feeling of loneliness, and poorer health than when married tied in first place in Goode's survey, with difficulty sleeping in third place. Profound feeling of loneliness also ranked first in ours, indicating that this difficulty was and is most widespread among divorced mothers. Over 90.00 per cent of these mothers had received custody of their children. Also they reported having many and good friends. Consequently, it would be incorrect to identify their loneliness as that resulting

from being alone. It is probably best identified as psycho-sexual loneliness resulting from the rupture of the pair relationship with the former spouses.

Poorer health than when married dropped from the first place tie in Goode's survey to fifth place, that is the last place, in our ranking. Impaired health does not result from mild trauma, but from serious forms of it. The lower incidence of this very serious symptom in our data probably indicates that our respondents, in general, did not suffer trauma to the same extent that Goode's did. This diminution of trauma may result simply from the increased divorce rate, and the greater acceptance of divorce by our society, as well as the shift from the adversary system to the no-fault system of divorce, and the greater availability and use of counseling.

Difficulty sleeping was found in third place in Goode's data. In ours it ranked second, indicating little or no change. The same can be said of increased smoking or drinking, as it ranks fourth in both surveys.

Difficulty doing work efficiently ranked last in Goode's survey, but it ranked third in ours. This difference is easily explained by the fact that the overwhelming majority of the respondents in our survey reported working full-time, unlike the situation reflected in Goode's data. Needless to say, individuals who don't work, don't have difficulty working efficiently. Since the remainder of the items do not bear comparison, no comments are in place here.

Goode, in analyzing his trauma data used a "Guttman grouping" (Goode 1956:189, footnote), and concluded that 42.00 per cent of his respondents had suffered high or profound trauma, 21 per cent suffered medium trauma, and the remaining 37 per cent suffered low trauma. Consequently, his largest group (42.00 per cent) was in the profound trauma category, then the next largest group (37.00 per cent) was at the opposite extreme, low trauma, with the smallest group (21.00 per cent) falling in between with medium trauma. So, when these data are presented in graph form as in Figure 5 we do not find anything resembling a normal distribution, but instead a bi-modal distribution with a valley in the middle.

In contrast we found our data to be aproximately normally distributed, indicating that the majority of our respondents suffered medium trauma, with the smallest minority suffering profound trauma, and a somewhat larger minority experiencing little or no trauma. (See Figure 3 in Chapter 10) This lends further evidence to our earlier observation that the trauma of divorce may not be as serious in our times as it was 30 or 40 years ago.

Consequently, there are contrasts and similarities in the respective findings which are presented schematically in Table 61. These can be summarized as follows.

1. Goode's largest group (42 per cent) suffered profound trauma, whereas our smallest group suffered profound trauma

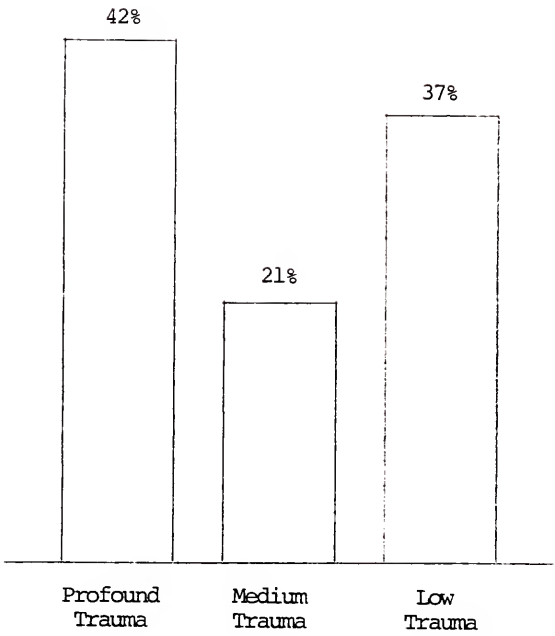


Figure 5: Levels of Divorce Trauma In Goode's (1956) Survey

TABLE 61

Comparison of Divorce Trauma Findings

Level of Trauma	Goode	Reid
Profound trauma	Largest Group=42%	Smallest Group
Medium trauma	Smallest Group=21%	Largest Group
Minimum trauma	Mid-size Group=37%	Mid-size Group

2. Goode's smallest group (21.00 per cent) experienced medium trauma, whereas our largest group experienced medium trauma
3. Both Goode's and Reid's mid-size groups got by with minimum trauma or none at all

No doubt it has become obvious that we have avoided measuring our three groups quantitatively. We have assiduously avoided this because of our dislike of dichotomizing and our conviction that our Trauma-Triumph scale is more isomorphic with reality.

Goode found that "the point of greatest disturbance appears to be the time of final separation" (Goode 1956:187). We found that the first stage, serious consideration, was the worst according to our data, with final separation in second place. Our first finding, that time of serious consideration was the worst, remains the same regardless of whether we use only the negative effects alone, or take both the negatives and positives into account.

It may very well be that the final separation is no longer the most difficult stage because nowadays, on separation, the parties enter into a pretty well-established subculture, with its own norms for behavior, where they are not just accepted but are welcomed (Hunt and Hunt 1979) and where support groups, such as Parents Without Partners, offer acceptance, help, and support.

Prejudice and Discrimination

In Goode's survey, 30.00 per cent of the respondents reported experiencing prejudice and/or discrimination because they were divorced. This compares with 36.87 per cent in ours, which is not much different. Of our respondents who experienced prejudice and/or discrimination 58.49 per cent said it came from friends. Their comments indicate discomfort over not knowing how to act, rather than real prejudice or discrimination on the part of their friends. Similarly, 42.00 per cent of Goode's subjects made somewhat similar comments. "People 'make remarks,' 'behave differently.' 'look down on you,' etc." (Goode 1956:184). For the most part, in both studies, the remainder of the prejudice/discrimination was experienced in dating situations.

Remarriage

Table 62 contains the comparative data on remarriage. It also contains our data on living together.

TABLE 62

Remarriage and Living Together

	Goode	Reid
		per cent
Remarried by time of survey	28.71	13.30
Living together with men	--	15.73
Totals	28.71	29.03

Proportionately, somewhat over twice as many of Goode's respondents had remarried compared with our respondents, indicating a slower entry rate into remarriage. Many factors may account for this difference. On the whole, Goode's respondents were younger than ours, which would contribute to an earlier and higher remarriage rate. Secondly, a rather widespread interest and participation in professionalism was found among our respondents, which would have a slowing and lowering effect on remarriage. But perhaps the greatest factor lay in the fact that 15.73 per cent of our respondents were living together with men. When we add this figure to our remarrieds, the sum practically equals Goode's remarrieds. So if we were to regard living together as a preparation or substitute for remarriage, the overall picture has not changed a lot.

There were no reports of living together in Goode's study. Unquestionably, there were isolated cases back then, but living together was so unacceptable socially, especially among whites, that its existence was denied or disregarded. Indeed the recentness of this phenomenon is mirrored in the fact that we have not been successful yet in coining a term that is both popular and acceptable in the literature. "Living together" is acceptable in common coinage, but not "cohabitation" which has a somewhat archaic flavor to it, even in the literature.

When comparing the remarriage situation, our earlier findings should be kept in mind. Remarriage brought significant financial security and betterment to the remarried mothers. That was not the case with those who had set up living together arrangements. They reported having financial resources that were on a par only with the other non-remarried mothers, falling far short of the amount reported by the remarrieds.

The remarried respondents in both surveys almost unanimously rated their new marriages as very successful. Among Goode's, 87.00 per cent rated their new marriages as much better than the former ones, and an additional 8.00 per cent claimed they were a little better. That adds up to 95.00 per cent claiming the new to be better or at least as good as the old. In our survey it was the same. The corresponding proportion was 96.30 per cent.

When the remarried mothers were asked about their children's reaction to or assessment of the new marriages, their replies were like xerox copies of their own assessment of the new marriages. In Goode's data, 92.00 per cent said their children were happier, or at least as happy in the new marriages as they had been in the old ones. The corresponding figure in our data was 96.30 per cent.

The Children of Divorce

"There were 796 children in these 425 divorces, an average of 1.87 children per divorce" (Goode 1956:108). In our survey there were 407 children in these 203 divorces, an average of 2.00 children per divorce.

Table 63 presents the comparative data on the family sizes or distribution of these children.

TABLE 63

Distribution of Children

Number of Children per Family	Goode	Reid
		per cent
One child	46	30.03
Two children	35	37.56
Three or more children	19	32.41
Totals	100	100.00

Approximately one-third of the families in both studies had two children. Then a higher proportion of Goode's had

only one child (46.00 per cent), compared with ours (30.03). Lastly, a higher proportion of ours had three or more children (32.41 per cent), compared with Goode's (19.00 per cent). These differences are probably best explained by the age difference of the two groups of respondents.

Child Custody

In the comparative data on who received custody of the children there is no evidence of any significant new trends here. The mother still gets exclusive custody in over 90.00 per cent of the cases, with the father alone getting custody in less than 5.00 per cent of the cases.

Children's Feelings for their Fathers

Table 64 contains the comparative data on the children's feelings for their fathers after divorce, as perceived by the mothers.

Caution must be used when attempting to compare these data, because we had no counterparts for Goode's last two categories, which accounted for 30.00 per cent of the replies in his data.

If we collapse the first two categories which report positive feelings on the part of the children for their fathers, we can see that in Goode's data 53.00 per cent are found here. The corresponding figures in our survey are 73.56 per cent, a difference of 20.00 percentage points.

TABLE 64

Children's Feelings towards Their Fathers

	Goode	Reid
	per cent	
They love their fathers the same as always	44	52.28
They love them more	9	21.28
They love them less, or always disliked them	16	26.24
Too young to remember them	10	--
They never think about them	20	--
Totals	99[1]	100.00

[1] not 100 per cent because of rounding

Next, we see that 16.00 per cent of the children in Goode's survey loved their fathers less than before, or always disliked them. Our corresponding data are 26.24 per cent, a difference of 10 percentage points. So it would seem that on the whole, in our survey about 10.00 per cent more of the children had positive feelings for their fathers than in Goode's. When we recall that these reports were made by the mothers, not by the children themselves, it may well be that this amelioration may be a result of the lesser trauma recorded by our correspondents, and also, where there was lesser trauma, there was the lesser likelihood that the children's feelings would become impaired by the divorces.

APPENDIX

This appendix contains the cover letter, the consent form, and questionnaire used in this survey.

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

Summer of 1979

First, my sincere thanks to you for taking part in this important study. Because of your cooperation we will have important new knowledge about marriage and divorce, that can be of great value in the future.

You are one of four hundred mothers that have been scientifically selected to take part. I would like you to fill out this questionnaire immediately or as soon as possible, and then return it to me. Many of the questions are of a very personal and serious nature. For this reason I guarantee you complete anonymity. Neither your name nor any form of identification will be contained in your answers.

The consent form below is required by law. Please sign it and return it with the complete questionnaire. I will immediately detach it and place it in a separate file. Your questionnaire will not be read until all participants have returned their questionnaires.

The serial number is exclusively for follow-up contacts with anyone who forgets to return the questionnaire. I will

remove the serial number at the same time I detach the consent form.

I would like to thank you for the time and thoughtful consideration I hope you will give this questionnaire, and I trust that the experience will be of benefit to you.

Thank you.

(signed) Kevin Reid

CONSENT FORM

To whom it may concern:

This is to verify that I am answering this questionnaire voluntarily and of my own free will.

Signed_____Date_____

Do Not Detach

INSTRUCTIONS

Please answer all questions as accurately as possible. The information you give will be used solely for scientific research. To assure your anonymity, put your name only on the consent form. The numbers in the left margin are for computer use only: do not write in that space.

Most of the questions can be answered by drawing a circle around the number to the left of the correct answer. Write in any additional information when requested. For example:

Who received custody of the children? 1 I did 2 husband
3 other (specify)_____

Please follow all special instructions carefully.

A. If it says: "CIRCLE AS MANY AS APPLY" circle as many or as few of the options as you think apply.

B. If it says: "CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH LINE" please look to see that you circled one number and only one number in each line.

C. Some questions are enclosed by a border or frame. Be sure to answer such questions when they apply to you; omit them when they do not apply.

QUESTIONNAIRE

CARD 1.

Please indicate where you and the following people were born. Circle 1 if born in U.S.; if not born in U.S. give name of the foreign country.

	Born in U.S.	Another country (Its name)
5____You	1	2_____
6____Your father	1	2_____
7____Your mother	1	2_____
8____Your ex-husband	1	2_____
9____His father	1	2_____
10___His mother	1	2_____

11-

12___How long have you lived in the U.S.?_____years.

13___What is your race? 1 Black 2 White 3 other (specify)_____

14___Are most of your friends 1 Blacks born in the U.S. 2 Whites born in U.S. 3 Cubans 4 other?

IF YOU HAVE BEEN DIVORCED MORE THAN ONCE, PLEASE NOTE THAT THIS QUESTIONNAIRE CONCERNS ONLY YOUR LAST DIVORCE AND THE MARRIAGE THAT WAS ENDED BY THAT DIVORCE.

15___How many times have you been divorced?_____

16___Did you have a job while you were married? 1 yes, full-time 2 part-time 3 on and off 4 none

If yes:

17___Specify please_____

18-

21___What was your average take-home pay each week during the last year of your marriage? $_____

22___Do you have a job now? 1 yes, full-time 2 part-time 3 on and off 4 none

If yes:

Specify, please:_____

24-

27What is your take-home pay each week now? $_____

28-

29___What was your age when you married?_____years.

30-

31___What was your age when you got divorced?_____years.

32-

33___How old was your ex-husband at marriage?_____years.

34___Did you live together before getting married? 1 yes 2 no.

35- If yes:

36___How long?_____years _____months.

How much education did you and your ex-husband receive?

37___CHECK CORRECT LEVEL FOR EACH	SELF	EX-HUSBAND
No formal education	_____	_____
Grade school	_____	_____
High school	_____	_____
Some college	_____	_____
College graduate	_____	_____
Graduate school/post graduate		

38___professional training _____ _____

39___What was your ex-husband's occupation: what did he do mainly, to make a living?

Specify:_____

40-

43___About what was his weekly income (after taxes) during the last year of the marriage? $_____.

44___Was he a steady worker? 1 yes, always had work 2 steady except for unavoidable layoffs 3 frequent layoffs 4 never worked for long periods.

45___What church did he belong to? 1 Protestant 2 Catholic 3 Jewish 4 Eastern Orthodox 5 other (specify)_____ 6 none.

46-

47___How long before filing for divorce did you first seriously consider divorce?_____years _____months.

48-

49___How long before filing for divorce did you definitely decide on a divorce?_____years _____months.

50___Which of you first suggested the idea of a divorce? 1 I did 2 husband 3 both

51___Later on, which of you continued to insist most on a divorce? 1 I did 2 husband 3 both

52___Did either of you consult any marriage counselor or go to a marriage clinic before the divorce? 1 yes 2 no.

If yes:

53___What kind? 1 rabbi, priest or pastor 2 social work

agency 3 marriage clinic 4 other.

54___When was the final separation actually made? 1 before deciding on divorce 2 before filing for divorce 3 before the divorce 4 after the divorce 5 never.

55-

56___If you separated before the divorce, how long was it from separating till the divorce? ____years ____months.

57___After finally deciding on the divorce, did you and your ex-husband have many talks about the details of the divorce? 1 many 2 some 3 none

---

IF YOU HAD TALKS:

58___What did you discuss mainly? 1 division of property 2 effect on children 3 alimony or support 4 remarriage to someone else 5 seeing each other after divorce 6 other (specify)_____

59___Were you able to reach a general agreement? 1 yes 2 no.

60___Did he live up to these agreements? 1 yes, all of them 2 some 3 none

61___Were you able to live up to these agreements? 1 yes, all of them 2 some 3 none.

62___After you first seriously considered divorce, how often did periods occur when you or your ex-husband decided not to carry it out? 1 frequently 2 rarely 3 never.

What did these people think about your divorce when it was taking place? CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH LINE.

	Strongly approved	Approved somewhat	Disapproved somewhat	Strongly disapproved
63___His family	1	2	3	4
64___Your family	1	2	3	4
65___His friends	1	2	3	4
66___Your friends	1	2	3	4
67___Your pastor	1	2	3	4
68___Co-workers	1	2	3	4

69___During the marriage did your husband ever physically hurt you? 1 yes, often 2 a few times 3 never.

If yes:

70-

73___How? 1 slapping, beating and punching 2 throwing me around and knocking me down 3 menacing me with a club, knife or gun 4 other.

If yes:

74___Did physical injury result? 1 yes 2 no.

If yes:

75___What was it?_____

76___Did you ever physically hurt your husband? 1 yes, often 2 a few times 3 never.

If yes:

77___Was it 1 in self defense 2 for some other reason?

78___Did your ex-husband ever force you to have sex with

him? 1 yes, often 2 a few times 3 never.

79___How many children do you have?_____

80___What is the age of the youngest, and of the oldest?

Youngest_____years. Oldest_____years.

CARD 2

What, to your mind, were the main causes of your divorce?

My husband: (CIRCLE 1 OR 2 ON EACH LINE)	yes	no
5____failed to support us----------	1	2
6____drank too much----------	1	2
7____neglected us and never stayed home----------	1	2
8____Spent all our money e.g. on gambling, etc.---	1	2
9____was always running around with the boys------	1	2
10___was bossy, impossible and overbearing--------	1	2
11___was running around with other women----------	1	2
12___fell in love with another woman--------------	1	2
13___ran off with another woman-------------------	1	2
14___was always blaming me for everything---------	1	2
15___we could never see eye to eye and get along--	1	2
16___trouble with in-laws----------	1	2
17___I wanted to continue/resume my education-----	1	2
18___I wanted to carve out a career for myself----	1	2

19-

20___other (specify)_____

NOW GO BACK AND IN THE BLANK SPACES IN THE RIGHT MARGIN NUMBER THE THREE MOST IMPORTANT REASONS YOU HAVE GIVEN: 1, most important, 2, next important, etc.

21___Who received custody of the children? 1 I did
2 husband 3 other (specify)_____

22___In general, is this arrangement agreeable to both?
1 yes 2 only to me 3 only to husband 4 to neither.

23___What agreements were made for visits with the other parent? 1 weekly 2 monthly 3 summers 4 holidays 5 no visits 6 other.

IF YOU HAVE CUSTODY OF THE CHILDREN:

26-

27___How much has your ex-husband to contribute monthly in child support? $_____

31___Has he paid it? 1 yes, always 2 usually 3 seldom or never.

IF YOU ARE NOT REMARRIED:

32-

35___How much money on the average do you have each week to meet your expenses with (from the job, ex-husband, welfare, etc)? $_____

36___Is it enough? 1 yes 2 no.

37___If you needed financial help, where would you turn first? 1 children's aid 2 own family 3 ex-husband's family 4 my church 5 county welfare 6 ex-husband 7 friends 8 others (specify)_____

If you wouldn't ask your husband first:

38___Would you ask for help from him, even as a second choice? 1 yes 2 no.

39___How often have you thought of marriage as a possible solution to your financial problems? 1 often 2 seldom 3 never.

IF YOU HAVE REMARRIED:

40-

43___How much do you have each week to meet your expenses with now? (from the job, ex-husband, present husband, etc.) $_____

44___Is it enough? 1 yes 2 no.

45___When do you think you were financially "better off?" 1 during the marriage 2 now 3 no difference.

46___While you were married, how often did you and your ex-husband go out together? 1 at least once a week 2 once or twice a month 3 almost never.

If almost never:

47___Please explain why_____

Did you and your ex-husband share any of these activities together during the marriage?

		yes	no			yes	no
48___	Dancing	1	2	51___	Movies/concerts	1	2
49___	Sports	1	2	52___	Social drinking	1	2
50___	Walking/ jogging	1	2	53___	TV/reading	1	2

54___Other (specify)_____

55- When the marriage broke up, what did you do to fill
61___the gap in your social life? Please explain_____

Outside your job or housework, what are your main recreational activities now?

		yes	no			yes	no
62___	Dancing	1	2	65___	Movies/concerts	1	2
63___	Sports	1	2	66___	Social drinking	1	2
64___	Walking/ jogging	1	2	67___	Dating	1	2

68___Other (specify)_____

69___Which one of these activities is the most important?
(specify)_____

70___Were you ever in a social situation where you felt people thought less of you because you were divorced?
1 yes 2 no.

If yes:

71___Describe it, please:_____

IF NOT REMARRIED:

72___How often do you date? 1 almost never 2 once or twice a month 3 once a week 4 several times a week.

73___Among your very close friends, is there someone you are thinking of marrying? 1 yes 2 no.

If yes:

74___Do you think you will get married? 1 yes 2 no.

If yes:

75___Do you think you have worked out all the problems you failed to work out with your ex-husband?

1 yes 2 some of them 3 no, not yet.

76___Have your parents or relatives been trying to help you meet eligible men, since the divorce?

1 yes 2 no.

77___Are you "living together" with a man now? 1 yes 2 no.

78___Have your friends been trying to help you meet eligible men since the divorce? 1 yes 2 no.

The divorce process may be a time of unhappiness and stress for some individuals; for others it may bring happiness and relief; for still others it may be a mixture of both. Did you have any of the following feelings or experiences during the divorce process, that is, extending from the point when you first seriously considered divorce up to the present time?

CIRCLE ONE LETTER FOR EACH ITEM INDICATING WHEN THE EXPERIENCE WAS GREATEST

		Serious Consideration		Final Decision		Final Separation		Divorce Decree		Present Time		Never
Difficulty sleeping	( )	a		b		c		d		e		f
Difficulty doing work efficiently	( )	a		b		c		d		e		f
Poorer health than when married	( )	a		b		c		d		e		f
Better health than when married	( )	a		b		c		d		e		f
General irritability or depression	( )	a		b		c		d		e		f
Feeling of happiness or elation	( )	a		b		c		d		e		f
Increased use of drugs	( )	a		b		c		d		e		f
Increased smoking or drinking	( )	a		b		c		d		e		f
Profound feeling of loneliness	( )	a		b		c		d		e		f
Desire to "escape" from it all	( )	a		b		c		d		e		f
Feeling of freedom and relief	( )	a		b		c		d		e		f
Desire to end your life	( )	a		b		c		d		e		f

NOW PLEASE GO BACK AND NUMBER THE THREE MOST IMPORTANT EXPERIENCES: 1, most important; 2, next, etc. Place the number in the parentheses ( ) provided above.

24___Before the divorce, or just after it, did you feel that your husband ought to be punished for what he did to you? 1 yes, often 2 sometimes 3 never.

25___Do you still feel that he should be punished? 1 yes 2 no.

26___At the time of the first visits to the children, did you and your ex-husband talk to each other? 1 yes 2 no.

If yes:

27___Did you and he date during this period? 1 yes, often 2 a few times 3 never.

28___Were there occasions during this period when you had sex relations with him? 1 yes 2 no.

29___Whether you talked to him or not, were you curious to know how he was and what he was doing? 1 yes 2 no.

30___If you knew you might meet him accidentally somewhere would you try to avoid him? 1 yes 2 no.

31___Have there ever been times when you felt that you did not play fair with your ex-husband during the divorce process? 1 yes 2 nc

If yes:

32___Do you still feel that way? 1 yes 2 no.

33___In spite of what has happened (the divorce), do you want to remarry him? 1 yes 2 no.

34___Do you think any changes in him are probable which would make you willing to remarry him? 1 yes 2 no.

35___Do you believe that you have changed in ways which would make living with you easier now? 1 yes 2 no.

36___Do you think your ex-husband was in love with another woman before the divorce? 1 yes 2 no.

If yes:

37___What effect did this have on you? 1 I wanted a divorce right away 2 I wanted to save our marriage 3 other (specify)_____

38___Were you in love with another man before the divorce? 1 yes 2 no.

39___How would you describe your ex-husband's feelings towards you now? 1 he still loves me 2 friendly 3 unfriendly 4 have no idea.

40___Now, how about your feelings towards him? 1 I still love him 2 friendly but do not miss him 3 I don't like him 4 other (specify)_____

41___Has your ex-husband remarried? 1 yes 2 no.

If yes:

42___How did you feel about his remarriage when you heard of it? 1 very unhappy 2 a little upset 3 didn't care 4 pleased 5 very happy

If he has not remarried:

43___How would you feel if he remarried? 1 I would be very unhappy 2 a little upset 3 wouldn't care 4 mildly happy 5 very happy.

IF YOU HAVE CUSTODY OF THE CHILDREN:

44___If you have to work away from home, how are the children cared for? 1 relatives 2 neighbors/friends 3 nursery school 4 regular school 5 don't have to work 6 other (specify))_____

If yes:

45___How would you rate this temporary care? 1 good 2 average 3 poor.

46___When you have dates, who cares for the children? (specify)_____

Are your activities restricted by having the children?

		yes	no			yes	no
47___	Work	1	2	50___	Dating	1	2
48___	Education	1	2	51___	Remarriage	1	2
49___	Social life	1	2	52___	Recreation/ travel	1	2

53___Other (specify)_____

54___Would you like your ex-husband to see the children 1 less often 2 more often 3 about the same 4 never.

55___Are the children harder to handle after visits with their father? 1 yes 2 no, easier 3 about the same.

56___When were the children hardest to handle? 1 during the marriage 2 after final separation 3 after the divorce 4 now 5 always about the same.

57___Do the children feel the same toward their father now as when you were still married? 1 they love him more

now 2 love him the same 3 love him less 4 never loved him.

58___What does your ex-husband think of the support payments? 1 he thinks they are too much 2 alright 3 too little.

59___What do you think about these support payments? 1 they are too much 2 alright 3 too little.

IF YOU DO N O T HAVE CUSTODY OF THE CHILDREN:

60___Do you feel in general that the children are getting satisfactory care? 1 yes 2 no

61___Do the children seem to miss you? 1 yes, very much 2 a little 3 not at all.

62___Do you feel that the children would be better off with you? 1 yes 2 no 3 would be no difference.

63___Do you want custody of the children? 1 yes 2 no.

64___Do you have to pay child support? 1 yes 2 no.

65- If yes:

68___How much monthly? Total $_____

69___Have you paid it? 1 yes, always 2 sometimes 3 no.

70___Does your ex-husband pay you alimony? 1 yes 2 no.

71- If yes:

73___How much each month? $_____

If no:

74___Do you have to pay your ex-husband alimony?

1 yes 2 no.

75- If yes:

77___How much each month? $_____

If either of you have to pay alimony:

78___Is it 1 always paid 2 usually paid 3 seldom 4 never.

CARD 4

Note: In the following questions, "church" stands for both synagogue and church. It is solely for the sake of simplicity that one word "church" is used.

5____Do you attend church services? 1 yes, once or twice a week 2 once or twice a month 3 only on holydays 4 never.

6____What church do you belong to? 1 Protestant 2 Catholic 3 Jewish 4 Eastern Orthodox 5 other (specify)_____ 6 none.

7____During which period would you say you attended church most frequently? 1 during marriage 2 during the divorce process 3 now 4 always about the same.

8____Do you feel that going to church has helped you in any way during this whole period of divorce? 1 yes 2 no.

If yes:

9____In what ways?_____

10___What would you say is your main reason for going to church? 1 to worship 2 my friends 3 to meet new friends 4 to find consolation in religion 5 so that

the children will go 6 other (specify)_____

11___If you or your ex-husband are Catholic, was your marriage 1 performed by a priest 2 authorized by the Catholic Church 3 later blessed by the Church 4 none of the above?

12___Now that the divorce is over, is there anything you have accomplished by yourself that you always wanted to, but never managed to do it before? 1 yes 2 no. If yes:

13___What?_____

IF YOU ARE REMARRIED:

14___In general, how does your present marriage compare to your former one? 1 better 2 about the same 3 not as good.

15___Do you feel that the experiences you had in your former marriage make it easier or harder to get along in this one? 1 harder 2 easier 3 no effect.

16___How often would you say you and your present husband argue about your former marriage or your ex-husband? 1 quite often 2 seldom 3 never.

17___Would you say that the children are happier now than before, now that you have remarried? 1 they are happier 2 about the same 3 quite unhappy.

Where were the following people born? CIRCLE 1 IF BORN IN U.S.; IF NOT BORN IN U.S., GIVE NAME OF FOREIGN COUNTRY.

	Born in U.S.	Another country (name).
18___Present husband	1	2_____
19___His father	1	2_____
20___His mother	1	2_____

21___How much education has your present husband received?
1 no formal education 2 grade school 3 high school
4 some college 5 college graduate 6 graduate school/
post-graduate professional training.

22-

23___How old is your present husband?_____years.

24___What is his occupation: what does he do mainly for a
living? (specify)_____

25-

28___What is his weekly income (after taxes)? $_____

29___Is he a steady worker? 1 yes, always has work
2 steady except for unavoidable layoffs 3 frequent
layoffs 4 never works for long periods.

30___What church does he belong to? 1 Protestant
2 Catholic 3 Jewish 4 Eastern Orthodox
5 other (specify)_____
6 none

Your additional comments are invited, and will be greatly appreciated.

T H A N K Y O U

When complete, seal and mail. To seal, remove backing from blue tab, then press tab onto front cover. Do not moisten.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Kevin Reid was born on September 18, 1934, in the Irish Republic. He graduated from St. Patrick's College, Carlow, Ireland, and was ordained a priest in June, 1958. He started work in the ministry in Mississippi in September, 1958. In 1970, while continuing his pastoral work, he entered graduate school at the University of Southern Mississippi, and in 1972 received a masters degree in Sociology. His thesis was a survey, Catholic Priests in Mississippi: A Sociological Study, published by the Catholic Diocese of Natchez-Jackson, Mississippi.

He continued full-time pastoral work in Mississippi until the spring of 1976, when he entered graduate school at the University of Florida to pursue doctoral coursework in family sociology and theory.

He is a member of Alpha Kappa Delta, Pi Gamma Mu (The National Social Science Honor Society), and the National Council on Family Relations. He also holds memberships in the Knights of Columbus and Rotary International.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Gerald R. Leslie, Chairman
Professor of Sociology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Joseph Vandiver
Professor of Sociology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Felix Berardo
Professor of Sociology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

John Henretta
Associate Professor of Sociology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Anthony LaGreca
Associate Professor of Sociology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Andre Khuri
Associate Professor of Statistics

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Sociology in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School, and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

August, 1983

Dean for Graduate Studies and Research

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